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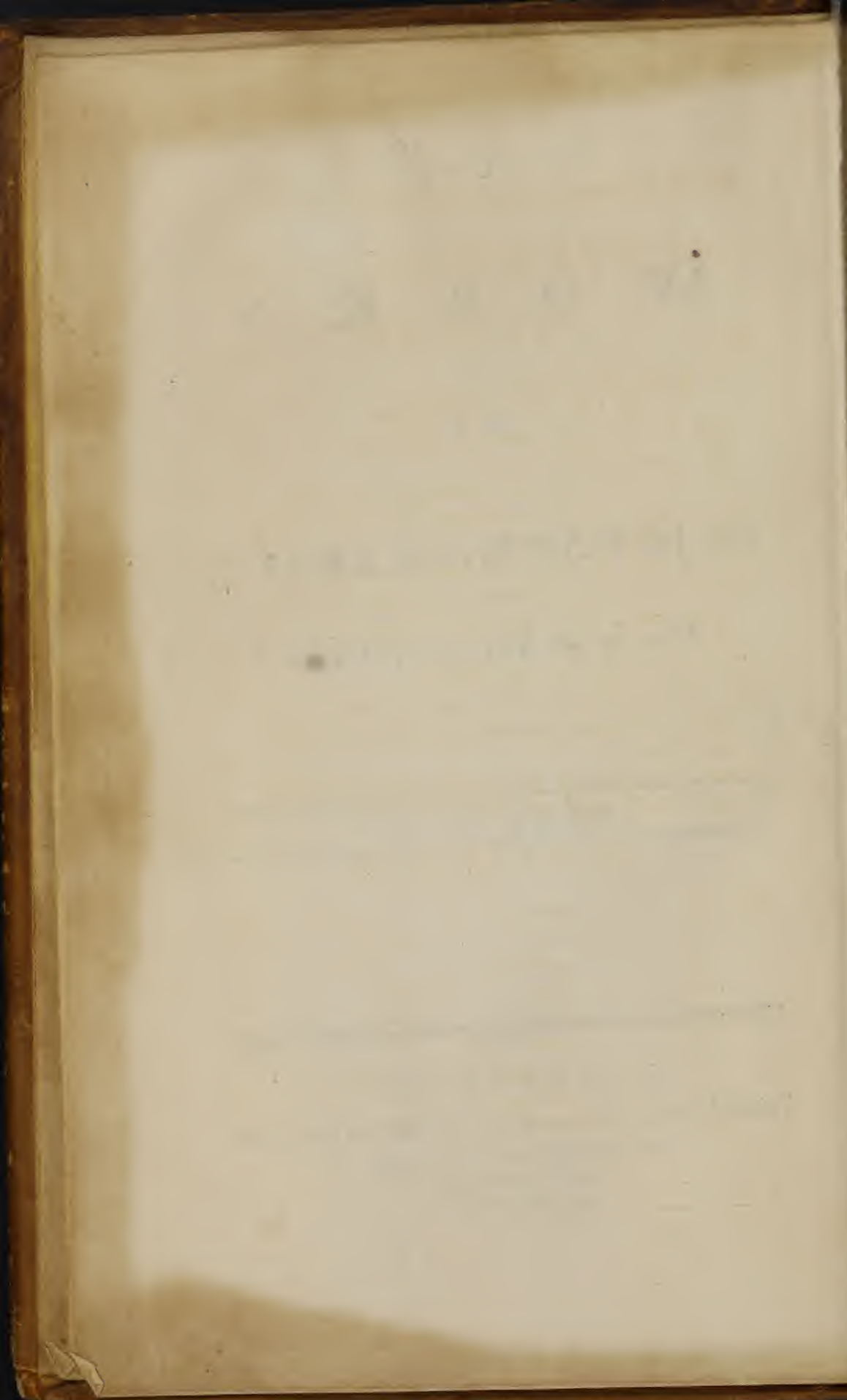
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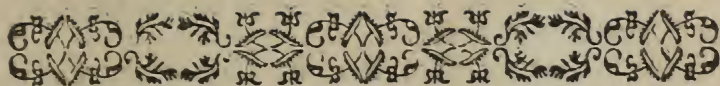
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POSTHUMOUS SERMONS*.

S E R M O N I.

On the TRINITY.

i Epistle general of St. JOHN, v. 7.

For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one.

THIS day being set apart to acknowledge our belief in the eternal *Trinity*, I thought it might be proper to employ my present discourse entirely upon that subject; and I hope to handle it in such a manner, that the most ignorant among you may return home better in-

* These sermons are curious, and curious for such reasons as would make other works despicable. They were written in a careless hurrying manner; and were the offspring of necessity, not of choice: so that one will see the original force of the Dean's genius more in these compositions, than were the legitimate sons of duty, than in other pieces that were the natural sons of love. They were held in such low esteem in his own thoughts, that, some years before he died, he gave away the whole collection to Dr. Sheridan, with the utmost indifference: "Here," says he, "are a bundle of my old sermons. You may have them if you please. They may be of use to you, they have never been of any to me." The parcel given to Dr. Sheridan consisted, as I have heard, of about thirty-five sermons. Three or four only are published; and those I have read over with attention. *Orrery*

formed of your duty in this great point, than probably you are at present.

It must be confessed, that by the weakness and indiscretion of busy (or, at best, of well-meaning) people, as well as by the malice of those who are enemies to all revealed religion, and are not content to possess their own infidelity in silence, without communicating it to the disturbance of mankind; I say, by these means, it must be confessed, that the doctrine of the Trinity hath suffered very much, and made Christianity suffer along with it. For these two things must be granted: First, That men of wicked lives would be very glad there were no truth in Christianity at all; and, secondly, If they can pick out any one single article in the Christian religion which appears not agreeable to their own corrupted reason, or to the arguments of those bad people who follow the trade of seducing others, they presently conclude, that the truth of the whole gospel must sink along with that one article. Which is just as wise, as if a man should say, because he dislikes one law of his country, he will therefore observe no law at all; and yet that one law may be very reasonable in itself, although he does not allow it, or does not know the reason of the lawgivers.

Thus it hath happened with the great doctrine of the *Trinity*; which word is indeed not in scripture, but was a term of art invented in the earlier times, to express the doctrine by a single word, for the sake of brevity and convenience. The doctrine then as delivered in holy scripture, though not exactly in the same words, is very short, and amounts only to this: That the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are each of them God, and yet there is but one God. For as to the word *person*, when we say there are three persons; and as to those other explanations in the Athanasian creed, this day read to you, (whether compiled by
Atha-

Athanasius or no, they were taken up three hundred years after Christ, to expound this doctrine; and I will tell you upon what occasion. About that time there sprang up a heresy of people called *Arians*, from one *Arius* the leader of them. These denied our Saviour to be God, although they allowed all the rest of the gospel, (wherein they were more sincere than their followers among us). Thus the Christian world was divided into two parts, till at length, by the zeal and courage of St. Athanasius, the Arians were condemned in a general council, and a creed formed upon the true faith, as St. Athanasius hath settled it. This creed is now read at certain times in our churches; which although it is useful for edification to those who understand it, yet since it contains some nice and philosophical points, which few people can comprehend, the bulk of mankind is obliged to believe no more than the scripture-doctrine, as I have delivered it; because that creed was intended only as an answer to the Arians in their own way, who were very subtilé disputers.

But this heresy having revived in the world about an hundred years ago, and continued ever since; not out of a zeal to truth, but to give a loose to wickedness, by throwing off all religion; several divines, in order to answer the cavils of those adversaries to truth and morality, began to find out farther explanations of this doctrine of the Trinity by rules of philosophy; which have multiplied controversies to such a degree, as to beget scruples that have perplexed the minds of many sober Christians, who otherwise could never have entertained them.

I must therefore be so bold to affirm, that the method taken by many of those learned men to defend the doctrine of the Trinity, hath been founded upon a mistake.

It must be allowed, that every man is bound to follow the rules and directions of that measure of

reason which God hath given him. And indeed he cannot do otherwise, if he will be sincere, or act like a man. For instance, if I should be commanded by an angel from heaven to believe it is midnight at noon-day; yet I could not believe him. So if I were directly told in scripture, that *three* are *one*, and *one* is *three*, I could not conceive or believe it, in the natural common sense of that expression; but must suppose, that something dark or mystical was meant, which it pleased God to conceal from me, and from all the world. Thus, in the text, *There are three that bear record, &c.* Am I capable of knowing and defining, what union and what distinction there may be in the divine nature, which possibly may be hid from the angels themselves? Again, I see it plainly declared in scripture, that there is but one God; and yet I find our Saviour claiming the prerogative of God, in knowing mens thoughts; in saying, *He and his Father are one*; and, *Before Abraham was, I am*. I read, that the disciples worshipped him; that Thomas said to him, *My Lord and my God*; and St. John, chap. i. *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God*. I read likewise, that the Holy Ghost bestowed the gift of tongues, and the power of working miracles; which, if rightly considered, is as great a miracle as any, that a number of illiterate men should of a sudden be qualified to speak all the languages then known in the world; such as could be done by the inspiration of God alone *. From these several texts it is plain, that
 God

* In defending the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, perhaps it is always best to insist upon the positive evidence, as the Dean has done in this sermon: for in every question, he who undertakes to obviate objections, must necessarily be foiled by him who puts them. By the human intellect, little more than the surface of things can be known, and therefore speculative objections, which would puzzle an able philosopher, may be easily raised even against those truths which admit of practical demonstration. It was once objected to a philosopher who

God commands us to believe there is an union, and there is a distinction; but what that union, or what that distinction is, all mankind are equally ignorant, and must continue so, at least till the day of judgment, without some new revelation.

But because I cannot conceive the nature of this union and distinction in the divine nature, am I therefore to reject them as absurd and impossible, as I would if any one told me, that three men are one, and one man is three? We are told, that a man and his wife are one flesh: this I can comprehend the meaning of; yet, literally taken, it is a thing impossible. But the apostle tells us, *We see but in part, and we know but in part*; and yet we would comprehend all the secret ways and workings of God.

Therefore I shall again repeat the doctrine of the Trinity, as it is positively affirmed in scripture: That God is there expressed in three different names, as Father, as Son, and as Holy Ghost; that each of these is God, and that there is but one God. But this union and distinction are a mystery utterly unknown to mankind.

This is enough for any good Christian to believe on this great article, without ever inquiring any farther. And this can be contrary to no man's reason, although the knowledge of it is hid from him.

But there is another difficulty, of great importance among those who quarrel with the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as with several other articles of Christianity; which is, That our religion abounds

who was explaining the laws of motion. That there could be no such thing; for that a body must move either in the place in which it is, or in the place in which it is *not*; but both being impossible, there could be no motion. This objection the philosopher immediately removed, by walking cross the room. And if none were to triumph in the strength of popular objections against Christianity, but those who could otherwise shew the fallacy of this against motion, the number of *moral philosophers* among us would probably be very few.

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in mysteries ; and these they are so bold to revile as cant, imposture, and priestcraft. It is impossible for us to determine, for what reasons God thought fit to communicate some things to us in part, and leave some part a mystery ; but so it is in fact, and so the holy scriptures tell us in several places. For instance, the resurrection and change of our bodies are called mysteries by St. Paul ; our Saviour's incarnation is another ; the kingdom of God is called a mystery by our Saviour, to be only known to his disciples ; so is faith, and the word of God, by St. Paul. I omit many others. So that to declare against all mysteries without distinction or exception, is to declare against the whole tenor of the New Testament.

There are two conditions that may bring a mystery under suspicion. First, When it is not taught and commanded in holy writ ; or, secondly, When the mystery turns to the advantage of those who preach it to others. Now, as to the first, it can never be said, that we preach mysteries without warrant from holy scripture ; although I confess this of the *Trinity* may have sometimes been explained by human invention, which might perhaps better have been spared. As to the second, it will not be possible to charge the Protestant priesthood with proposing any temporal advantage to themselves by broaching, or multiplying, or preaching of mysteries. Does this mystery of the *Trinity*, for instance, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, bring the least profit or power to the preachers ? No ; it is as great a mystery to themselves, as it is to the meanest of their hearers ; and may be rather a cause of humiliation, by putting their understanding in that point upon a level with the most ignorant of their flock. It is true indeed, the Roman church hath very much enriched herself by trading in mysteries, for which they have not the least authority from scripture, and which were fitted

ted only to advance their own temporal wealth and grandeur; such as *transubstantiation, worshipping of images, indulgencies for sins, purgatory, and masses for the dead*; with many more. But it is the perpetual talent of those who have ill-will to our church, or a contempt for all religion, taken up by the wickedness of their lives, to charge us with the errors and corruptions of Popery, which all Protestants have thrown off near two hundred years: whereas those mysteries held by us have no prospect of power, pomp, or wealth; but have been ever maintained by the universal body of true believers from the days of the apostles, and will be so to the resurrection; neither will the gates of hell prevail against them.

It may be thought perhaps a strange thing, that God should require us to believe mysteries, while the reason or manner of what we are to believe is above our comprehension, and wholly concealed from us. Neither doth it appear at first sight, that the believing or not believing them doth concern either the glory of God, or contribute to the goodness or wickedness of our lives. But this is a great and dangerous mistake. We see what a mighty weight is laid upon faith both in the Old and New Testament. In the former we read, how the faith of Abraham is praised, who could believe that God would raise from him a great nation, at the very same time that he was commanded to sacrifice his only son, and despaired of any other issue: and this was to him a great mystery. Our Saviour is perpetually preaching faith to his disciples, or reproaching them with the want of it; and St. Paul produceth numerous examples of the wonders done by faith. And all this is highly reasonable: for faith is an entire dependence upon the truth, the power, the justice, and the mercy of God; which dependence will certainly incline us to obey him in all things. So that the great excellen-
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cy of faith consist in the consequence it hath upon our actions : as if we depend upon the truth and wisdom of a man, we shall certainly be more disposed to follow his advice. Therefore let no man think, that he can lead as good a moral life without faith as with it ; for this reason, because he who has no faith, cannot, by the strength of his own reason or endeavours, so easily resist temptations, as the other, who depends upon God's assistance in the overcoming his frailties, and is sure to be rewarded for ever in heaven, for his victory over them. *Faith*, says the apostle, *is the evidence of things not seen*. He means, that faith is a virtue, by which any thing commanded us by God to believe, appears evident and certain to us, although we do not see, nor can conceive it ; because by faith we entirely depend upon the truth and power of God.

It is an old and true distinction, that things may be above our reason, without being contrary to it. Of this kind are the power, the nature, and the universal presence of God, with innumerable other points. How little do those who quarrel with mysteries, know of the commonest actions of nature ? The growth of an animal, of a plant, or of the smallest seed, is a mystery to the wisest among men. If an ignorant person were told, that a loadstone would draw iron at a distance, he might say, it was a thing contrary to his reason, and could not believe before he saw it with his eyes.

The manner whereby the soul and body are united, and how they are distinguished, is wholly unaccountable to us. We see but one part, and yet we know we consist of two ; and this is a mystery we cannot comprehend, any more than that of the *Trinity*.

From what hath been said, it is manifest, that God did never command us to believe, nor his ministers to preach, any doctrine which is contrary to
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the reason he hath pleased to endue us with ; but, for his own wise ends, has thought fit to conceal from us the nature of the thing he commands ; thereby to try our faith and obedience, and increase our dependence upon him.

It is highly probable, that if God should please to reveal unto us this great mystery of the *Trinity*, or some other mysteries in our holy religion, we should not be able to understand them, unless he would at the same time think fit to bestow on us some new powers or faculties of the mind, which we want at present, and are reserved till the day of resurrection to life eternal. *For now, as the apostle says, we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face.*

Thus, we see, the matter is brought to this issue ; we must either believe what God directly commands us in holy scripture, or we must wholly reject the scripture, and the Christian religion, which we pretend to profess. But this, I hope, is too desperate a step for any of us to make.

I have already observed, that those who preach up the belief of the *Trinity*, or of any other mystery, cannot propose any temporal advantage to themselves by so doing. But this is not the case of those who oppose these doctrines. Do *they* lead better moral lives than a good Christian ? Are *they* more just in their dealings ? more chaste, or temperate, or charitable ? Nothing at all of this ; but, on the contrary, their intent is to overthrow all religion, that they may gratify their vices, without any reproach from the world, or their own conscience ; and are zealous to bring over as many others as they can to their own opinions ; because it is some kind of imaginary comfort, to have a multitude on their side.

There is no miracle mentioned in holy writ, which, if it were strictly examined, is not as much contrary to common reason, and as much a myste-

ry, as this doctrine of the *Trinity*; and therefore we may with equal justice deny the truth of them all. For instance, it is against the laws of nature, that a human body should be able to walk upon the water, as St. Peter is recorded to have done; or that a dead carcase should be raised from the grave after three days, when it began to corrupt; which those who understand anatomy, will pronounce to be impossible by the common rules of nature and reason. Yet these miracles, and many others, are positively affirmed in the gospel; and these we must believe, or give up our holy religion to Atheists and Infidels.

I shall now make a few inferences and observations upon what hath been said.

First, It would be well if people would not lay so much weight on their own reason in matters of religion, as to think every thing impossible and absurd which they cannot conceive. How often do we contradict the right rules of reason in the whole course of our lives? *Reason* itself is true and just; but the *reason* of every particular man is weak and wavering, perpetually swayed and turned by his interests, his passions, and his vices. Let any man but consider, when he hath a controversy with another, though his cause be ever so unjust, though the whole world be against him, how blinded he is by the love of himself, to believe that right is wrong, and wrong is right, when it makes for his own advantage. Where is then the right use of his reason, which he so much boasts of, and which he would blasphemously set up to control the commands of the Almighty?

Secondly, When men are tempted to deny the mysteries of religion, let them examine and search into their own hearts, whether they have not some favourite sin, which is of their party in this dispute, and which is equally contrary to other commands of God in the gospel. For why do men
love

love darkneſs rather than light? The ſcripture tells us, *Because their deeds are evil*; and there can be no other reaſon aſſigned. Therefore when men are curious and inquiſitive to diſcover ſome weak ſides in Chriſtianity, and inclined to favour every thing that is offered to its diſadvantage, it is plain they wiſh it were not true: and thoſe wiſhes can proceed from nothing but an evil conſcience; becauſe, if there be truth in our religion, their condition muſt be miſerable*.

And therefore, *thirdly*, men ſhould conſider, that raiſing difficulties concerning the myſteries in religion, cannot make them more wiſe, learned, or virtuous; better neighbours, or friends, or more ſerviceable to their country; but, whatever they pretend, will deſtroy their inward peace of mind, by perpetual doubts and fears ariſing in their breſts. And God forbid we ſhould ever ſee the times ſo bad, when dangerous opinions in religion will be a means to get favour and preferment; although, even in ſuch a caſe, it would be an ill traffic, to gain the world and loſe our own ſouls. So that, upon the whole, it will be impoſſible to find any real uſe towards a virtuous or happy life, by denying the myſteries of the goſpel.

Fourthly, Thoſe ſtrong unbelievers who expect that all myſteries ſhould be ſquared and fitted to their own reaſon, might have ſomewhat to ſay for themſelves, if they could ſatiſfy the general reaſon of mankind in their opinions. But herein they are miſerably defective, abſurd, and ridiculous. They ſtrain at a gnat, and ſwallow a camel: they can believe, that the world was made by chance; that

* It is an high encomium on reformed Chriſtianity, and a ſtrong argument of its ſuperior excellence, that a corrupt life always inclines men to wiſh it were not true. It does not appear, that Mahometans and Papiſts wiſh their religion to be falſe in proportion as their lives are immoral; and it is ſaid of Dryden, that not being able to fortify himſelf in infidelity, he died a Papiſt.

God doth not concern himself with things below, will neither punish vice nor reward virtue; that religion was invented by cunning men to keep the world in awe; with many other opinions equally false and detestable, against the common light of nature as well as reason; against the universal sentiments of all civilized nations, and offensive to the ears even of a sober Heathen.

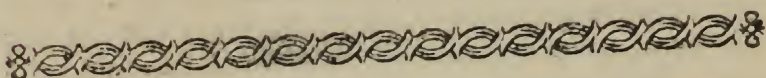
Lastly, Since the world abounds with pestilent books, particularly written against this doctrine of the *Trinity*, it is fit to inform you, that the authors of them proceed wholly upon a mistake. They would shew how impossible it is, that *three* can be *one*, and *one* can be *three*: whereas the scripture faith no such thing, at least in that manner they would make it; but only that there is some kind of unity and distinction in the divine nature, which mankind cannot possibly comprehend. Thus the whole doctrine is short and plain, and in itself incapable of any controversy; since God himself hath pronounced the fact, but wholly concealed the manner. And therefore many divines, who thought fit to answer those wicked books, have been mistaken too, by answering fools in their folly, and endeavouring to explain a mystery which God intended to keep secret from us. And as I would exhort all men to avoid reading those wicked books written against this doctrine, as dangerous and pernicious; so I think they may omit the answers, as unnecessary. This, I confess, will probably affect but few or none among the generality of our congregations, who do not much trouble themselves with books, at least of this kind. However, many who do not read themselves, are seduced by others that do; and thus become unbelievers upon trust, and at second hand; and this is too frequent a case: for which reason I have endeavoured to put this doctrine upon a short and sure foot, levelled to the meanest understanding;
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by which we may, as the apostle directs, be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us, with meekness and fear.

And thus I have done with my subject; which probably I should not have chosen, if I had not been invited to it by the occasion of this season, appointed on purpose to celebrate the mysteries of the *Trinity*, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, wherein we pray to be kept stedfast in this faith; and what this faith is, I have shewn you in the plainest manner I could. For, upon the whole, it is no more than this: God commands us, by our dependence upon his truth and his holy word, to believe a fact that we do not understand. And this is no more than what we do every day in the works of nature, upon the credit of men of learning. Without faith we can do no works acceptable to God; for if they proceed from any other principle, they will not advance our salvation; and this faith, as I have explained it, we may acquire, without giving up our senses, or contradicting our reason. May God, of his infinite mercy, inspire us with true faith in every article and mystery of our holy religion, so as to dispose us to do what is pleasing in his sight: and this we pray through Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, the mysterious incomprehensible ONE God, be all honour and glory, now and for evermore. *Amen.*

* * * This is one of the best sermons in its kind. Dr. Swift seems not to have made such a plan his voluntary choice, nor to have built, *suo ex motu*, upon such a basis; but he has completed the superstructure in a most masterly manner. The materials answer the dignity of the edifice; and the artificer may assume great honour, upon the completion of so noble, so simple, and so useful a pile. The mysterious parts of our religion are apt to have dreadful effects upon weak minds. The general comments upon the sacred writings, and the
several

several sermons upon the most abstruse points of scripture, are too often compos'd in the gloomy style. Damnation, eternal damnation, is placed with all its horror before our eyes; and we are so terrified at the prospect, that fear makes us imagine we can comprehend mysteries, which, on this side of the grave, must be for ever denied to our limited understandings. Swift has taken the safest and the properest method of expounding these *arcana*. He advances every position that can be established upon so incomprehensible a subject. He sustains the belief, avows the doctrine, and adapts the matter of faith as well as possible to the human capacity. His manner of reasoning is masterly, and his arguments are nervous, particularly, where he says, "It is highly probable, that if God should please to reveal unto us this great mystery of the Trinity, or some other mysteries in our holy religion, we should not be able to understand them, unless he would at the same time think fit to bestow on us some new powers or faculties of the mind, which we want at present, and are reserved till the day of resurrection to life eternal." p. 9. *Orrery*.



S E R M O N II.

ON MUTUAL SUBJECTION.

I St. PETER V. 5.

— *Yea, all of you be subject one to another.*

THE apostle having, in many parts of this epistle, given directions to Christians concerning the duty of subjection or obedience to superiors; in the several instances of the subject to the prince, the child to his parent, the servant to his master, the wife to her husband, and the younger to the elder; doth here, in the words of my text, sum up the whole, by advancing a point of doctrine, which

which at first may appear a little extraordinary : *Yea, all of you, saith he, be subject one to another.* For it should seem, that two persons cannot properly be said to be subject to each other, and that subjection is only due from inferiors to those above them : yet St. Paul hath several passages to the same purpose. For he exhorts the Romans, *in honour to prefer one another* * ; and the Philippians, that in *lowliness of mind they should let each esteem other better than themselves* † ; and the Ephesians, that they should *submit themselves one to another in the fear of the Lord* ‡ . Here we find these two great apostles recommending to all Christians this duty of mutual subjection. For we may observe by St. Peter, that having mentioned the several relations which men bear to each other, as governor and subject, master and servant, and the rest which I have already repeated, he makes no exception ; but sums up the whole with commanding *all to be subject one to another*. From whence we may conclude, that this subjection due from all men to all men, is something more than the compliment of course, when our betters are pleased to tell us, they are our humble servants, but understand us to be their slaves.

I know very well, that some of those who explain this text, apply it to humility, to the duties of charity, to private exhortations, and to bearing with each other's infirmities ; and it is probable the apostle may have had a regard to all these. But, however, many learned men agree, that there is something more understood ; and so the words in their plain natural meaning must import ; as you will observe yourselves, if you read them with the beginning of the verse, which is thus : *likewise ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elder : yea, all of you, be subject one to another.* So that, upon the whole, there must be some kind of subjection due

* Rom. xii. 10.

† Philip. ii. 3.

‡ Eph. v. 21.

from every man to every man, which cannot be made void by any power, pre-eminence, or authority whatsoever. Now, what sort of subjection this is, and how it ought to be paid, shall be the subject of my present discourse.

As God hath contrived all the works of nature to be useful, and in some manner a support to each other, by which the whole frame of the world under his providence is preserved and kept up; so, among mankind, our particular stations are appointed to each of us by God almighty, wherein we are obliged to act as far as our power reacheth, towards the good of the whole community. And he who doth not perform that part assigned him, towards advancing the benefit of the whole, in proportion to his opportunities and abilities, is not only an useless, but a very mischievous member of the public; because he takes his share of the profit, and yet leaves his share of the burden to be borne by others, which is the true principal cause of most miseries and misfortunes in life. For a wise man who does not assist with his counsels, a great man with his protection, a rich man with his bounty and charity, and a poor man with his labour, are perfect nuisances in a commonwealth. Neither is any condition of life more honourable in the sight of God than another; otherwise he would be a respecter of persons, which he assures us he is not: for he hath proposed the same salvation to all men, and hath only placed them in different ways or stations to work it out. Princes are born with no more advantages of strength or wisdom than other men; and, by an unhappy education, are usually more defective in both, than thousands of their subjects. They depend for every necessary of life upon the meanest of their people: besides, obedience and subjection were never enjoined by God to humour the passions, lusts, and vanities of those who demand them from us; but we are command-
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ed to obey our governors, because disobedience would breed seditions in the state. Thus servants are directed to obey their masters, children their parents, and wives their husbands; not from any respect of persons in God, but because otherwise there would be nothing but confusion in private families. This matter will be clearly explained, by considering the comparison which St. Paul makes between the church of Christ and the body of man: for the same resemblance will hold, not only to families and kingdoms, but to the whole corporation of mankind. "The eye," saith he, "cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much more, those members of the body which seem to be more feeble, are necessary. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it *." The case is directly the same among mankind. The prince cannot say to the merchant, I have no need of thee; nor the merchant to the labourer, I have no need of thee. Nay, much more, those members which seem to be more feeble, are necessary. For the poor are generally more necessary members of the commonwealth than the rich: which clearly shews, that God never intended such possessions for the sake and service of those to whom he lends them; but because he hath assigned every man his particular station to be useful in life, and this for the reason given by the apostle, *that there may be no schism in the body.*

From hence may partly be gathered the nature of that subjection which we all owe to one another. God almighty hath been pleased to put us into an imperfect state, where we have perpetual occasion of each other's assistance. 'There is none so low, as

* 1 Cor. xii. 21, 22, 26.

not to be in a capacity of assisting the highest; nor so high, as not to want the assistance of the lowest.

It plainly appears from what hath been said, that no one human creature is more worthy than another in the sight of God, farther than according to the goodness or holiness of their lives; and that power, wealth, and the like outward advantages, are so far from being the marks of God's approving or preferring those on whom they are bestowed, that, on the contrary, he is pleased to suffer them to be almost ingrossed by those who have least title to his favour. Now, according to this equality wherein God hath placed all mankind with relation to himself, you will observe, that, in all the relations between man and man, there is a mutual dependence, whereby the one cannot subsist without the other. Thus, no man can be a prince without subjects, nor a master without servants, nor a father without children. And this both explains and confirms the doctrine of the text: for where there is a mutual dependence, there must be a mutual duty, and consequently a mutual subjection. For instance, the subject must obey his prince, because God commands it, human laws require it, and the safety of the public makes it necessary. For the same reasons we must obey all that are in authority, and submit ourselves not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward, whether they rule according to our liking or no. On the other side, in those countries that pretend to freedom, princes are subject to those laws which their people have chosen; they are bound to protect their subjects in liberty, property, and religion; to receive their petitions, and redress their grievances: so that the best prince is, in the opinion of wise men, only the greatest servant of the nation; not only a servant to the public in general, but in some sort to every man in it. In the like manner, a servant

vant owes obedience, and diligence, and faithfulness, to his master; from whom, at the same time, he hath a just demand for protection, and maintenance, and gentle treatment. Nay, even the poor beggar hath a just demand of an alms from the rich man; who is guilty of fraud, injustice, and oppression, if he does not afford relief according to his abilities.

But this subjection we all owe one another, is no where more necessary, than in the common conversations of life; for without it there could be no society among men. If the learned would not sometimes submit to the ignorant, the wise to the simple, the gentle to the froward, the old to the weaknesses of the young, there would be nothing but everlasting variance in the world. This our Saviour himself confirmed by his own example: for he appeared in the form of a servant, and washed his disciples feet, adding those memorable words, "Ye call me Lord and Master: and ye say well; for so I am. If I then, your Lord and Master, wash your feet, how much more ought ye to wash one another's feet?" Under which expression of washing the feet, is included all that subjection, assistance, love, and duty, which every good Christian ought to pay his brother, in whatever station God hath placed him. For the greatest prince and the meanest slave are not by infinite degrees so distant, as our Saviour and those disciples whose feet he vouchsafed to wash.

And although this doctrine of subjecting ourselves to one another, may seem to grate upon the pride and vanity of mankind, and may therefore be hard to be digested by those who value themselves upon their greatness or their wealth; yet it is really no more than what most men practise upon other occasions. For if our neighbour, who is our inferior, comes to see us, we rise to receive him, we place him above us, and respect him as if

he were better than ourselves ; and this is thought both decent and necessary, and is usually called *good manners*. Now, the duty required by the apostle is only, that we should enlarge our minds, and that what we thus practise in the common course of life, we should imitate in all our actions and proceedings whatsoever ; since our Saviour tells us that every man is our neighbour, and since we are so ready, in the point of civility, to yield to others in our own houses, where only we have any title to govern.

Having thus shewn you, what sort of subjection it is which all men owe one to another, and in what manner it ought to be paid, I shall now draw some observations from what hath been said.

And, *first*, A thorough practice of this duty of subjecting ourselves to the wants and infirmities of each other, would utterly extinguish in us the vice of pride.

For if God has pleased to intrust me with a talent, not for my own sake, but for the service of others, and at the same time hath left me full of wants and necessities, which others must supply ; I can then have no cause to set any extraordinary value upon myself, or to despise my brother, because he hath not the same talents which were lent to me. His being may probably be as useful to the public as mine ; and therefore, by the rules of right reason, I am in no sort preferable to him.

Secondly, It is very manifest from what has been said, that no man ought to look upon the advantages of life, such as riches, honour, power, and the like, as his property, but merely as a trust which God hath deposited with him to be employed for the use of his brethren : and God will certainly punish the breach of that trust, though the laws of man will not, or rather indeed cannot ; because the trust was conferred only by God, who has not left it to any power on earth to decide infallibly, whether

whether a man makes a good use of his talents or no, or to punish him where he fails. And therefore God seems to have more particularly taken this matter into his own hands, and will most certainly reward or punish us in proportion to our good or ill performance in it. Now, although the advantages which one man possesseth more than another, may in some sense be called his property with respect to other men; yet with respect to God, they are, as I said, only a trust; which will plainly appear from hence: if a man does not use those advantages to the good of the public, or the benefit of his neighbour, it is certain, he doth not deserve them, and consequently that God never intended them for a blessing to him; and, on the other side, whoever does employ his talents as he ought, will find by his own experience, that they were chiefly lent him for the service of others; for to the service of others he will certainly employ them.

Thirdly, If we could all be brought to practise this duty of subjecting ourselves to each other, it would very much contribute to the general happiness of mankind. For this would root out envy and malice from the heart of man; because you cannot envy your neighbour's strength, if he make use of it to defend your life, or carry your burden; you cannot envy his wisdom, if he gives you good counsel; nor his riches, if he supplies you in your wants; nor his greatness, if he employs it to your protection. The miseries of life are not properly owing to the unequal distribution of things; but God almighty, the great King of heaven, is treated like the kings of the earth, who, although perhaps intending well themselves, have often most abominable ministers and stewards; and those generally the vilest, to whom they intrust the most talents. But here is the difference, that the princes of this world see by other mens eyes, but God sees all things; and

and therefore whenever he permits his blessings to be dealt among those who are unworthy, we may certainly conclude, that he intends them only as a punishment to an evil world, as well as to the owners. It were well, if those would consider this, whose riches serve them only as a spur to avarice, or as an instrument to their lusts; whose wisdom is only of this world, to put false colours upon things, to call good evil, and evil good, against the conviction of their own consciences; and, lastly, who employ their power and favour in acts of oppression or injustice, in misrepresenting persons and things, or in countenancing the wicked to the ruin of the innocent.

Fourthly, The practice of this duty of being subject to one another, would make us rest contented in the several stations of life wherein God hath thought fit to place us; because it would, in the best and easiest manner, bring us back as it were to that early state of the gospel, when Christians had all things in common. For if the poor found the rich disposed to supply their wants; if the ignorant found the wise ready to instruct and direct them; or if the weak might always find protection from the mighty; they could none of them, with the least pretence of justice, lament their own condition.

From all that hath been hitherto said, it appears, that great abilities of any sort, when they are employed as God directs, do but make the owners of them greater and more painful servants to their neighbour, and the public. However, we are by no means to conclude from hence, that they are not really blessings, when they are in the hands of good men. For, first, what can be a greater honour, than to be chosen one of the stewards and dispensers of God's bounty to mankind? What is there that can give a generous spirit more pleasure and complacency of mind, than to consider, that
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he is an instrument of doing much good? that great numbers owe to him, under God, their subsistence, their safety, their health, and the good conduct of their lives? The wickedest man upon earth takes a pleasure in doing good to those he loves; and therefore, surely, a good Christian who obeys our Saviour's command of loving all men, cannot but take delight in doing good even to his enemies. God, who gives all things to all men, can receive nothing from any; and those among men who do the most good, and receive the fewest returns, do most resemble their Creator; for which reason St. Paul delivers it as a saying of our Saviour, that *it is more blessed to give than to receive*. By this rule, what must become of those things which the world values as the greatest blessings, riches, power, and the like, when our Saviour plainly determines, that the best way to make them blessings, is to part with them? Therefore although the advantages which one man hath over another, may be called blessings, yet they are by no means so in the sense the word usually understands. Thus, for example, great riches are no blessing in themselves; because the poor man, with the common necessities of life, enjoys more health, and has fewer cares, without them. How then do they become blessings? No otherwise, than by being employed in feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, rewarding worthy men, and, in short, doing acts of charity and generosity. Thus, likewise, power is no blessing in itself, because private men bear less envy, and trouble, and anguish, without it. But, when it is employed to protect the innocent, to relieve the oppressed, and to punish the oppressor, then it becomes a great blessing. And so, lastly, even great wisdom is, in the opinion of Solomon, not a blessing in itself: for *in much wisdom is much sorrow*; and men of common understandings, if they serve God, and mind their callings, make fewer mistakes
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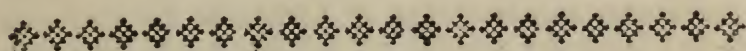
in the conduct of life, than those who have better heads. And yet wisdom is a mighty blessing, when it is applied to good purposes, to instruct the ignorant, to be a faithful counsellor either in public or private, to be a director to youth, and to many other ends needless here to mention.

To conclude: God sent us into the world to obey his commands, by doing as much good as our abilities will reach, and as little evil as our many infirmities will permit. Some he hath only trusted with one talent, some with five, and some with ten. No man is without his talent; and he that is faithful or negligent in a little, shall be rewarded or punished, as well as he that hath been so in a great deal.

Consider what hath been said, &c.

* * * This sermon is upon mutual subjection, and that duty which is owing from one man to another. A clearer style, or a discourse more properly adapted to a public audience, can scarce be framed. Every paragraph is simple, nervous, and intelligible. The threads of each argument are closely connected, and logically pursued. But in places where the Dean has the least opportunity to introduce political maxims, or to dart an arrow at the conduct of princes, he never fails to indulge himself in his usual manner of thinking; as will appear from the following quotations. "A wise man," says Dr. Swift, "who does not assist with his counsels, a great man with his protection, a rich man with his bounty and charity, and a poor man with his labour, are perfect nuisances in a commonwealth. Neither is any condition of life more honourable in the sight of God than another; otherwise he would be a respecter of persons, which he assures us he is not: for he hath proposed the same salvation to all men, and hath only placed them in different ways or stations to work it out. Princes are born with no more advantages of strength or wisdom than other men; and, by an unhappy education, are usually more defective in both, than thousands of their subjects," p. 16. Again, in the same strain, "The best prince is, in the opinion of wise men, only the greatest servant of the nation; not only a servant to the public in general, but in some sort to every man in it," p. 18. But the most extraordinary passage is a covert stroke at the highest order of his brethren the clergy. It runs thus. "The miseries of life are not properly owing to the unequal distribution of things; but God almighty, the great King of heaven, is treated like the kings of the earth; who, although perhaps

“ perhaps intending well themselves, have often most abominable
 “ ministers and stewards, and those generally the vilest, to whom
 “ they intrust the most talents,” p. 21. Dark as it is, this para-
 graph requires no explanation. The author’s natural turn of mind
 breaks forth upon all occasions, and the politician frequently out-
 weighs the divine. If the dictates of such a spirit were capable of
 forcing their way from the pulpit, what a glorious, what a consistent
 figure, must Swift have made in the rostrum at Rome, or in one of
 the porticos at Athens? *Orrery.*



S E R M O N III.

On the TESTIMONY of CONSCIENCE.

2 COR. i. 12. part of it

— *For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of
 our conscience.*

There is no word more frequently in the mouths
 of men, than that of *conscience*; and the mean-
 ing of it is in some measure generally understood.
 However, because it is likewise a word extremely
 abused by many people, who apply other meanings
 to it, which God Almighty never intended; I shall
 explain it to you in the clearest manner I am able.
 The word *conscience* properly signifies that know-
 ledge which a man hath within himself, of his own
 thoughts and actions. And because, if a man
 judgeth fairly of his own actions, by comparing
 them with the law of God, his mind will either ap-
 prove or condemn him, according as he hath done
 good or evil; therefore this knowledge or *con-*
science may properly be called both an accuser and

a judge. So that whenever our conscience accuseth us, we are certainly guilty : but we are not always innocent, when it doth not accuse us ; for very often, through the hardness of our hearts, or the fondness and favour we bear to ourselves, or through ignorance or neglect, we do not suffer our conscience to take any cognisance of several sins we commit. There is another office likewise belonging to conscience, which is that of being our director and guide ; and the wrong use of this hath been the occasion of more evils under the sun, than almost all other causes put together. For as conscience is nothing else but the knowledge we have of what we are thinking and doing ; so it can guide us no farther than that knowledge reacheth ; and therefore God hath placed conscience in us to be our director only in those actions which scripture and reason plainly tells us to be good or evil. But in cases too difficult or doubtful for us to comprehend or determine, there conscience is not concerned ; because it cannot advise in what it doth not understand, nor decide where it is itself in doubt : But, by God's great mercy, those difficult points are never of absolute necessity to our salvation. There is likewise another evil, that men often say, a thing is against their conscience, when really it is not. For instance, ask any of those who differ from the worship established, why they do not come to church, they will say, they dislike the ceremonies, the prayers, the habits, and the like ; and therefore it goes against their conscience. But they are mistaken ; their teacher hath put those words into their mouth ; for a man's conscience can go no higher than his knowledge ; and therefore till he has thoroughly examined, by scripture, and the practice of the ancient church, whether those points are blameable or no, his conscience cannot possibly direct him to condemn them. Hence have likewise arisen those mistakes about what is usually called

called *liberty of conscience* ; which, properly speaking, is no more than a liberty of knowing our own thoughts ; which liberty no one can take from us. But those words have obtained quite different meanings. Liberty of conscience is now-a-days not only understood to be the liberty of believing what men please, but also of endeavouring to propagate that belief as much as they can, and to overthrow the faith which the laws have already established, and to be rewarded by the public for those wicked endeavours ; and this is the liberty of conscience which the fanatics are now, openly in the face the world, endeavouring at with their utmost application. At the same time it cannot but be observed, that those very persons who, under pretence of a public spirit, and tenderness towards their Christian brethren, are so zealous for such a liberty of conscience as this, are of all others the least tender to those who differ from them in the smallest point relating to government ; and I wish I could not say, that the majesty of the living God may be offended with more security than the memory of a dead prince. But the wisdom of the world at present seems to agree with that of the Heathen Emperor, who said, if the gods were offended, it was their own concern, and they were able to vindicate themselves.

But altho' conscience hath been abused to those wicked purposes which I have already related, yet a due regard to the directions it plainly gives us ; as well as to its accusations, reproaches, and advices, would be of the greatest use to mankind, both for their present welfare and future happiness.

Therefore my discourse at this time shall be directed to prove to you, that there is no solid, firm foundation for virtue, but in a conscience which is guided by religion.

In order to this, I shall first shew you the weakness and uncertainty of two false principles, which

many people set up in the place of conscience for a guide to their actions.

The first of these principles is what the world usually calls *moral honesty*. There are some people, who appear very indifferent as to religion, and yet have the repute of being just and fair in their dealings; and these are generally known by the character of good moral men. But now, if you look into the grounds and the motives of such a man's actions, you shall find them to be no other than his own ease and interest. For example, you trust a moral man with your money in the way of trade, you trust another with the defence of your cause at law; and perhaps they both deal justly with you. Why? not from any regard they have for justice, but because their fortune depends upon their credit, and a stain of open public dishonesty must be to their disadvantage. But let it consist with such a man's interest and safety to wrong you, and then it will be impossible you can have any hold upon him; because there is nothing left to give him check, or to put in the balance against his profit. For, if he hath nothing to govern himself by but the opinion of the world, as long as he can conceal his injustice from the world he thinks he is safe.

Besides, it is found by experience, that those men who set up for morality, without regard to religion, are generally virtuous but in part; they will be just in their dealings between man and man: but if they find themselves disposed to pride, lust, intemperance, or avarice, they do not think their morality concerned to check them in any of these vices; because it is the great rule of such men, that they may lawfully follow the dictates of nature, wherever their safety, health, and fortune are not injured. So that, upon the whole, there is hardly one vice which a mere moral man may not upon some occasions allow himself to practise.

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The other false principle which some men set up in the place of conscience to be their director in life, is what those pretend to call *honour*.

This word is often made the sanction of an oath ; it is reckoned a great commendation to be a man of strict honour ; and it is commonly understood, that a man of honour can never be guilty of a base action. This is usually the style of military men, of persons with titles, and of others who pretend to birth and quality. It is true indeed, that in ancient times it was universally understood, that honour was the reward of virtue ; but if such honour as is now-a-days going, will not permit a man to do a base action, it must be allowed, there are very few such things as base actions in nature. No man of honour, as that word is usually understood, did ever pretend, that his honour obliged him to be chaste or temperate, to pay his creditors, to be useful to his country, to do good to mankind, to endeavour to be wise or learned, to regard his word, his promise, or his oath ; or, if he hath any of these virtues, they were never learned in the catechism of honour ; which contains but two precepts ; the punctual payments of debts contracted at play, and the right understanding the several degrees of an affront, in order to revenge it by the death of an adversary.

But suppose this principle of honour, which some men so much boast of, did really produce more virtues than it ever pretended to ; yet, since the very being of that honour depended upon the breath, the opinion, or the fancy of the people, the virtues derived from it could be of no long or certain duration. For example, suppose a man, from a principle of honour, should resolve to be just, or chaste, or temperate, and yet the censuring world should take a humour of refusing him those characters, he would then think the obligation at an end. Or, on the other side, if he
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thought he could gain honour by the falsest and vilest action, (which is a case that very often happens), he would then make no scruple to perform it. And God knows, it would be an unhappy state, to have the religion, the liberty, or the property of a people lodged in such hands; which however hath been too often the case.

What I have said upon this principle of honour, may perhaps be thought of small concernment to most of you who are my hearers: However, a caution was not altogether unnecessary; since there is nothing by which not only the vulgar, but the honest tradesman hath been so much deceived, as this infamous pretence to honour in too many of their betters.

Having thus shewn you the weakness and uncertainty of those principles which some men set up in the place of conscience to direct them in their actions, I shall now endeavour to prove to you, that there is no solid, firm foundation of virtue, but in a conscience directed by the principles of religion.

There is no way of judging how far we may depend upon the actions of men, otherwise than by knowing the motives, and grounds, and causes of them; and if the motives of our actions be not resolved and determined into the law of God, they will be precarious and uncertain, and liable to perpetual changes. I will shew you what I mean, by an example. Suppose a man thinks it his duty to obey his parents, because reason tells him so, because he is obliged by gratitude, and because the laws of his country command him to do so: if he stops here, his parents can have no lasting security; for an occasion may happen, wherein it may be extremely his interest to be disobedient, and where the laws of the land can lay no hold upon him: therefore, before such a man can safely be trusted, he must proceed farther, and consider that his rea-
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son is the gift of God; that God commanded him to be obedient to the laws, and did moreover, in a particular manner, injoin him to be dutiful to his parents; after which, if he lays due weight upon those considerations, he will probably continue in his duty to the end of his life; because no earthly interest can ever come in competition to balance the danger of offending his Creator, or the happiness of pleasing him. And of all this his conscience will certainly inform him, if he hath any regard to religion.

Secondly, Fear and hope are the two greatest natural motives of all mens actions. But neither of these passions will ever put us in the way of virtue, unless they be directed by conscience. For altho' virtuous men do sometimes accidentally make their way to preferment, yet the world is so corrupted, that no man can reasonably hope to be rewarded in it, merely upon account of his virtue. And consequently the fear of punishment in this life will preserve men from very few vices; since some of the blackest and basest do often prove the surest steps to favour; such as ingratitude, hypocrisy, treachery, malice, subornation, atheism, and many more, which human laws do little concern themselves about. But when conscience placeth before us the hopes of everlasting happiness, and the fears of everlasting misery, as the reward and punishment of our good or evil actions, our reason can find no way to avoid the force of such an argument, otherwise than by running into infidelity.

Lastly, Conscience will direct us to love God, and to put our whole trust and confidence in him. Our love of God will inspire us with a detestation for sin, as what is of all things most contrary to his divine nature; and if we have an entire confidence in him, *that* will enable us to subdue and despise all the allurements of the world.

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It may here be objected, If conscience be so sure a director to us Christians in the conduct of our lives, how comes it to pass, that the ancient Heathens, who had no other lights but those of nature and reason, should so far exceed us in all manner of virtue, as plainly appears by many examples they have left on record?

To which it may be answered: First, those Heathens were extremely strict and exact in the education of their children: whereas, among us, this care is so much laid aside, that the more God has blessed any man with estate or quality, just so much the less in proportion is the care he takes in the education of his children, and particularly of that child which is to inherit his fortune; of which the effects are visible enough among the great ones of the world. Again, those Heathens did, in a particular manner, instil the principle into their children of loving their country; which is so far otherwise now-a-days, that of the several parties among us, there is none of them that seem to have so much as heard whether there be such a virtue in the world; as plainly appears by their practices, and especially when they are placed in those stations where they can only have opportunity of shewing it. Lastly, the most considerable among the Heathens did generally believe rewards and punishments in a life to come; which is the great principle for conscience to work upon: whereas too many of those who would be thought the most considerable among us, do, both by their practices and their discourses, plainly affirm, that they believe nothing at all of the matter.

Wherefore, since it hath manifestly appeared, that a religious conscience is the only true solid foundation upon which virtue can be built, give me leave, before I conclude, to let you see how necessary such a conscience is to conduct us in every station and condition of our lives.

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That a religious conscience is necessary in any station, is confessed even by those who tell us that all religion was invented by cunning men, in order to keep the world in awe. For if religion, by the confession of its adversaries, be necessary toward the well-governing of mankind; then every wise man in power will be sure, not only to chuse out for every station under him, such persons as are most likely to be kept in awe by religion, but likewise to carry some appearance of it himself, or else he is a very weak politician. And accordingly, in any country, where great persons affect to be open despisers of religion, their counsels will be found at last to be fully as destructive to the state as to the church.

It was the advice of Jethro to his son-in-law Moses, to *provide able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness*, and to place such over the people; and Moses, who was as wise a statesman at least as any in this age, thought fit to follow that advice. Great abilities, without the fear of God, are most dangerous instruments, when they are trusted with power. The laws of man have thought fit, that those who are called to any office of trust should be bound by an oath to the faithful discharge of it: but an oath is an appeal to God, and therefore can have no influence except upon those who believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of those that seek him, and a punisher of those who disobey him: and therefore we see the laws themselves are forced to have recourse to conscience in these cases; because their penalties cannot reach the arts of cunning men, who can find ways to be guilty of a thousand injustices, without being discovered, or at least without being punished. And the reason why we find so many frauds, abuses, and corruptions, where any trust is conferred, can be no other, than that there is so little conscience and religion left in the world; or at

least that men, in their choice of instruments, have private ends in view, which are very different from the service of the public. Besides, it is certain, that men who profess to have no religion, are full as zealous to bring over proselytes as any Papist or Fanatic can be. And therefore, if those who are in station high enough to be of influence or example to others; if those (I say) openly profess a contempt or disbelief of religion, they will be sure to make all their dependents of their own principles; and what security can the public expect from such persons, whenever their interests or their lusts come into competition with their duty? It is very possible for a man who hath the appearance of religion, and is a great pretender to conscience, to be wicked and a hypocrite; but it is impossible for a man who openly declares against religion, to give any reasonable security that he will not be false, and cruel, and corrupt, whenever a temptation offers, which he values more than he does the power wherewith he was trusted. And if such a man doth not betray his cause and his master, it is only because the temptation was not properly offered, or the profit was too small, or the danger too great. And hence it is, that we find so little truth or justice among us, because there are so very few who, either in the service of the public, or in common dealings with each other, do ever look farther than their own advantage, and how to guard themselves against the laws of the country; which a man may do by favour, by secrecy, or by cunning, though he breaks almost every law of God.

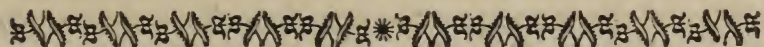
Therefore, to conclude: It plainly appears, that unless men are guided by the advice and judgment of conscience founded on religion, they can give no security that they will be either good subjects, faithful servants of the public, or honest in their mutual dealings; since there is no other tie, thro' which the pride, or lust, or avarice, or ambition

of

of mankind will not certainly break one time or other.

Consider what has been said, &c.

*** In this moral essay, for I can scarce call it a sermon, the author inserts some very striking observations upon such false notions of honour as are too prevalent in the world. [Here the particular passage is quoted, beginning thus, "The other false principle which some men set up in the place of conscience," *Ec. p. 9. l. 1.* and ending thus, "in order to revenge it by the death of an adversary," *ibid. l. 27.* — But you must be weary of quotations: and in excuse for those already made, I can only offer, that in comments upon original authors, quotations are often the best, and perhaps the only explanations that can fully answer the end proposed. I mean, that the original spirit is so volatile, as not to admit of the least transfusion. In ordinary compositions, the essence may be extracted, and the subtlest parts distilled: but Swift's sermons appeared a chymical preparation of so extraordinary and penetrating a nature, that I was resolved to send you as much of the ethereal spirit as might be safely conveyed by the post. *Orrery.*



S E R M O N IV.

On BROTHERLY LOVE*.

H E B. xiii. 1.

Let brotherly love continue.

IN the early times of the gospel, the Christians were very much distinguished from all other bodies of men, by the great and constant love they bore to each other; which although it was done in obedience to the frequent injunctions of our Saviour and his apostles, yet, I confess, there seemeth to have been likewise a natural reason, that very much promoted it. For the Christians then were few and scattered, living under persecution by the

* This sermon is not in the Dublin edition.

Heathens round about them, in whose hands was all the civil and military power; and there is nothing so apt to unite the minds and hearts of men, or to beget love and tenderneſs, as a general diſtreſs. The firſt diſſenſions between Chriſtians took their beginning from the errors and hereſies that aroſe among them; many of thoſe hereſies, ſometimes extinguished, and ſometimes reviving, or ſucceeded by others, remain to this day; and having been made instruments to the pride, avarice, or ambition of ill-deſigning men, by extinguishing brotherly love, have been the cauſe of infinite calamities, as well as corruptions of faith and manners, in the Chriſtian world.

The laſt legacy of Chriſt was peace and mutual love; but then he foretold, that he came to ſend a ſword upon the earth. The primitive Chriſtians accepted the legacy, and their ſucceſſors down to the preſent age have been largely fulfilling his prophecy. But whatever the practice of mankind hath been, or ſtill continues, there is no duty more incumbent upon thoſe who profeſs the goſpel, than that of brotherly love; which whoever could reſtore in any degree among men, would be an instrument of more good to human ſociety, than ever was, or will be done by all the ſtateſmen and politicians in the world.

It is upon this ſubject of brotherly love that I intend to diſcourſe at preſent; and the method I obſerve ſhall be as follows.

1. I will inquire into the cauſes of this great want of brotherly love among us.
2. I will lay open the ſad effects and conſequences which our animofities and mutual hatred have produced.
3. I will uſe ſome motives and exhortations that may perſuade you to embrace brotherly love, and continue in it.

I. I shall inquire into the causes of this great want of brotherly love among us.

This nation of ours hath for an hundred years past been infested by two enemies, the Papists and Fanatics; who each in their turns filled it with blood and slaughter, and for a time destroyed both the church and government. The memory of these events hath put all true Protestants equally upon their guard against both these adversaries; who, by consequence, do equally hate us. The Fanatics revile us, as too nearly approaching to Popery; and the Papists condemn us, as bordering too much on Fanaticism. The Papists, God be praised, are, by the wisdom of our laws, put out of all visible possibility of hurting us; besides, their religion is so generally abhorred, that they have no advocates or abettors among Protestants to assist them. But the Fanatics are to be considered in another light: they have had, of late years, the power, the luck, or the cunning, to divide us among ourselves; they have endeavoured to represent all those who have been so bold as to oppose their errors and designs, under the character of persons disaffected to the government; and they have so far succeeded, that now-a-days, if a clergyman happens to preach with any zeal and vehemence against the sin or danger of schism, there will not want too many in his congregation ready enough to censure him, as hot and high-flying, an inflamer of mens minds, an enemy to moderation, and disloyal to his prince. This hath produced a formed and settled division between those who profess the same doctrine and discipline, while they who call themselves moderate, are forced to widen their bottom, by sacrificing their principles and their brethren to the incroachments and insolence of dissenters; who are therefore answerable, as a principal cause of all that hatred and animosity now reigning among us.

Another

Another cause of the great want of brotherly love, is the weakness and folly of too many among you of the lower sort, who are made the tools and instruments of your betters to work their designs, wherein you have no concern. Your numbers make you of use, and cunning men take the advantage by putting words into your mouths which you do not understand; then they fix good or ill characters to those words, as it best serves their purposes; and thus you are taught to love or hate, you know not what or why; you often suspect your best friends and nearest neighbours, even your teacher himself, without any reason, if your leaders once taught you to call him by a name which they tell you signifieth some very bad thing.

A third cause of our great want of brotherly love seemeth to be, that this duty is not so often insisted on from the pulpit, as it ought to be in such times as these: on the contrary, it is to be doubted, whether doctrines are not sometimes delivered by an ungoverned zeal, a desire to be distinguish'd, or a view of interest, which produce quite different effects; when, upon occasions set apart to return thanks to God for some public blessing, the time is employed in stirring up one part of the congregation against the other, by representations of things and persons, which God in his mercy forgive those who are guilty of.

The last cause I shall mention of the want of brotherly love, is that unhappy disposition towards politics among the trading people, which hath been industriously instilled into them. In former times, the middle and lower sort of mankind seldom gained or lost by the factions of the kingdom; and therefore were little concerned in them, further than as matter of talk and amusement: but now the meanest dealer will expect to turn the penny by the merits of his party. He can represent his neighbour

bour as a man of dangerous principles ; can bring a railing accusation against him, perhaps a criminal one ; and so rob him of his livelihood, and find his own account by that much more than if he had disparaged his neighbour's goods, or defamed him as a cheat. For so it happens, that instead of inquiring into the skill or honesty of those kind of people, the manner is now to inquire into their party, and to reject or encourage them accordingly ; which proceeding hath made our people in general such able politicians, that all the artifice, flattery, dissimulation, diligence and dexterity in undermining each other, which the satirical wit of men hath charged upon courts ; together with all the rage and violence, cruelty and injustice, which have been ever imputed to public assemblies ; are with us (so polite are we grown) to be seen among our meanest traders and artificers in the greatest perfection. All which, as it may be matter of some humiliation to the wise and mighty of this world, so the effects thereof may perhaps in time prove very different from what, I hope in charity, were ever foreseen or intended.

II. I will therefore, now, in the second place, lay open some of the sad effects and consequences which our animosities and mutual hatred have produced.

And the first ill consequence is, that our want of brotherly love hath almost driven out all sense of religion from among us ; which cannot well be otherwise : for since our Saviour laid so much weight upon his disciples loving one another, that he gave it among his last instructions ; and since the primitive Christians are allowed to have chiefly propagated the faith, by their strict observance of that instruction ; it must follow, that, in proportion as brotherly love declineth, Christianity will do so too. The little religion there is in the world, hath
been

been observed to reside chiefly among the middle and lower sort of people, who are neither tempted to pride and luxury by great riches, nor to desperate courses by extreme poverty : and truly I upon that account have thought it a happiness, that those who are under my immediate care are generally of that condition. But where party hath once made entrance, with all its consequences, of hatred, envy, partiality, and virulence, religion cannot long keep its hold in any state or degree of life whatsoever. For if the great men of the world have been censured in all ages for mingling too little religion with their politics, what a havock of principles must they needs make in unlearned and irregular heads ? of which indeed the effects are already too visible and melancholy all over the kingdom.

Another ill consequence from our want of brotherly love is, that it increaseth the insolence of the Fanatics. And this partly ariseth from a mistaken meaning of the word *moderation* ; a word which hath been much abused, and handed about for several years past. There are too many people indifferent enough to all religion ; there are many others who dislike the clergy, and would have them live in poverty and dependence. Both these sorts are much commended by the Fanatics for moderate men, ready to put an end to our divisions, and to make a general union among Protestants. Many ignorant well-meaning people are deceived by these appearances, strengthened with great pretences to loyalty ; and these occasions the Fanatics lay hold on to revile the doctrine and discipline of the church, and even insult and oppress the clergy, wherever their numbers or favourers will bear them out ; insomuch that one wilful refractory Fanatic hath been able to disturb a whole parish for many years together. But the most moderate and favoured divines dare not own, that the word *moderation*

deration with respect to the dissenters can be at all applied to their religion, but is purely personal or prudential. No good man repineth at the liberty of conscience they enjoy; and perhaps a very moderate divine may think better of their loyalty than others do; or, to speak after the manner of men, may think it necessary, that all Protestants should be united against the common enemy; or out of discretion, or other reasons best known to himself, be tender of mentioning them at all. But still the errors of the dissenters are all fixed and determined; and must, upon demand, be acknowledged by all the divines of our church, whether they be called, in party-phrases, high or low, moderate or violent. And further, I believe it would be hard to find many moderate divines, who, if their opinion were asked, whether dissenters should be trusted with power, could according to their consciences answer in the affirmative: from whence it is plain, that all the stir which the Fanatics have made with this word *moderation*, was only meant to increase our divisions, and widen them so far as to make room for themselves to get in between. And this is the only scheme they ever had (except that of destroying root and branch) for the uniting of Protestants, they so much talk of.

I shall mention but one ill consequence more, which attends our want of brotherly love; that it hath put an end to all hospitality and friendship, all good correspondence and commerce between mankind. There are indeed such things as leagues and confederacies among those of the same party; but surely God never intended, that men should be so limited in the choice of their friends: however, so it is in town and country, in every parish and street; the pastor is divided from his flock, the father from his son, and the house often divided against itself. Mens very natures are soured, and their passions inflamed, when they meet in party-clubs,

clubs, and spend their time in nothing else but railing at the opposite side ; thus every man alive among us is encompassed with a million of enemies of his own country, among which his oldest acquaintance, and friends, and kindred themselves, are often of the number. Neither can people of different parties mix together without constraint, suspicion, and jealousy ; watching every word they speak, for fear of giving offence ; or else falling into rudeness and reproaches, and so leaving themselves open to the malice and corruption of informers, who were never more numerous or expert in their trade. And, as a further addition to this evil, those very few, who, by the goodness and generosity of their nature, do in their own hearts despise this narrow principle, of confining their friendship and esteem, their charity and good offices, to those of their own party, yet dare not discover their good inclinations, for fear of losing their favour and interest. And others, again, whom God had formed with mild and gentle dispositions, think it necessary to put a force upon their own tempers, by acting a noisy, violent, malicious part, as a means to be distinguished. Thus hath party got the better of the very genius and constitution of our people ; so that whoever reads the character of the English in former ages, will hardly believe their present posterity to be of the same nation or climate.

III. I shall now, in the last place, make use of some motives and exhortations, that may persuade you to embrace brotherly love, and to continue in it. Let me apply myself to you of the lower sort, and desire you will consider, when any of you make use of fair and enticing words to draw in customers, whether you do it for their sakes or your own. And then for whose sakes do you think it is, that your leaders are so industrious to put into your heads

heads all that party-rage and virulence? Is it not to make you the tools and instruments, by which they work out their own designs? Has this spirit of faction been useful to any of you in your worldly concerns, except to those who have traded in whispering, backbiting, or informing, and wanted skill or honesty to thrive by fairer methods? It is no business of yours to inquire, who is at the head of armies, or of councils, unless you had power and skill to chuse, neither of which is ever like to be your case: and therefore to fill your heads with fears and hatred of persons and things of which it is impossible you can ever make a right judgement, or to set you at variance with your neighbour, because his thoughts are not the same as yours, is not only in a very gross manner to cheat you of your time and quiet, but likewise to endanger your souls.

Secondly, In order to restore brotherly love, let me earnestly exhort you to stand firm in your religion, I mean the true religion hitherto established among us; without varying in the least, either to Popery on the one side, or to Fanaticism on the other: and in a particular manner beware of that word, *moderation*; and believe it, that your neighbour is not immediately a villain, a Papist, and a traitor, because the Fanatics and their adherents will not allow him to be a moderate man. Nay, it is very probable, that your teacher himself may be a loyal, pious, and able divine, without the least grain of moderation, as the word is too frequently understood. Therefore, to set you right in this matter, I will lay before you the character of a truly moderate man; and then I will give you the description of such an one who falsely pretendeth to that title.

A man truly moderate is steady in the doctrine and discipline of the church, but with a due Christian charity to all who dissent from it out of a

principle of conscience; the freedom of which, he thinketh, ought to be fully allowed, as long as it is not abused; but never trusted with power. He is ready to defend with his life and fortune the Protestant succession, and the Protestant established faith, against all invaders whatsoever. He is for giving the crown its just prerogative, and the people their just liberties. He hateth no man for differing from him in political opinions; nor doth he think it a maxim infallible, That virtue should always attend upon favour, and vice upon disgrace. These are some few lineaments in the character of a truly moderate man. Let us now compare it with the description of one who usually passeth under that title.

A moderate man, in the new meaning of the word, is one to whom all religion is indifferent; who, although he denominates himself of the church, regardeth it no more than a conventicle. He perpetually raileth at the body of the clergy, with exceptions only to a very few, who he hopeth, and probably upon false grounds, are as ready to betray their rights and properties as himself. He thinks the power of the people can never be too great, nor that of the prince too little; and yet this very notion he publisheth, as his best argument to prove him a most loyal subject. Every opinion in government that differeth in the least from his, tends directly to Popery, slavery, and rebellion. Whoever lieth under the frown of power, can in his judgement neither have common sense, common honesty, nor religion. Lastly, his devotion consisteth in drinking gibbets, confusion, and damnation; in profanely idolizing the memory of one dead prince, and ungratefully trampling upon the ashes of another.

By these marks you will easily distinguish a truly moderate man from those who are commonly, but very falsely, so called: and while persons thus qualified

lified are so numerous and so noisy, so full of zeal and industry to gain profelytes, and spread their opinions among the people, it cannot be wondered that there should be so little brotherly love left among us.

Lastly, It would probably contribute to restore some degree of brotherly love, if we would but consider, that the matter of those disputes which inflame us to this degree, doth not in its own nature at all concern the generality of mankind. Indeed, as to those who have been great gainers or losers by the changes of the world, the case is different; and to preach moderation to the first, and patience to the last, would perhaps be to little purpose. But what is that to the bulk of the people, who are not properly concerned in the quarrel, although evil instruments have drawn them into it? For if the reasonable men on both sides were to confer opinions, they would find neither religion, loyalty, nor interest, are at all affected in this dispute. Not religion, because the members of the church on both sides profess to agree in every article: not loyalty to our prince; which is pretended to by one party as much as the other, and therefore can be no subject for debate: not interest, for trade and industry lie open to all; and, what is further, concerneth only those who have expectations from the public. So that the body of the people, if they knew their own good, might yet live amicably together, and leave their betters to quarrel among themselves, who might also probably soon come to a better temper, if they were less seconded and supported by the poor deluded multitude.

I have now done with my text; which I confess to have treated in a manner more suited to the present times, than to the nature of the subject in general. That I have not been more particular in explaining the several parts and properties of this great duty of brotherly love, the apostle to the
Theſſalonians

Theſſalonians will plead my excuse. “ Touching
 “ brotherly love,” (ſaith he), “ ye need not that
 “ I write unto you; for ye yourſelves are taught
 “ of God to love one another.” So that nothing
 remains to add, but our prayers to God, that he
 would pleaſe to reſtore and continue this great duty
 of brotherly love or charity among us, the very
 bond of peace and of all virtues.

Nov. 20. 1717.



S E R M O N V.

The difficulty of knowing one's ſelf *.

2 Kings viii. 13. part of it.

*And Hazael ſaid, But what, is thy ſervant a dog,
 that he ſhould do this great thing?*

WE have a very ſignal inſtance of the deceitful-
 neſs of the heart repreſented to us in the per-
 ſon of Hazael; who was ſent to the prophet Eliſha,

* The manuſcript title-page of the following ſermon being loſt,
 and no memorandums writ upon it, as there were upon the others,
 when and where it was preached, made the editor doubtful whether
 he ſhould print it as the Dean's or not. But its being found amongſt
 the ſame papers; and the hand, although writ ſomewhat better, ha-
 ving a great ſimilitude to the Dean's, made him willing to lay it be-
 fore the public; that they might judge whether the ſtyle and man-
 ner alſo do not render it ſtill more probable to be his. *Dublin edition.*
 — I ſhall take no notice of this ſermon, as it is evidently not com-
 poſed by the Dean. *Orrery.*

to inquire of the Lord, concerning his master the King of Syria's recovery. For the man of God having told him that the king might recover from the disorder he was then labouring under, began to set and fasten his countenance upon him of a sudden, and to break out into the most violent expressions of sorrow, and a deep concern for it: whereupon, when Hazael, full of shame and confusion, asked, "Why weepeth my lord?" he answered, "Because I know the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel: Their strong holds wilt thou set on fire, and their young men wilt thou slay with the sword, and wilt dash their children, and rip up their women with child." Thus much did the man of God say and know of him, by a light darted into his mind from heaven. But Hazael, not knowing himself so well as the other did, was startled and amazed at the relation, and would not believe it possible, that a man of his temper could ever run out into such enormous instances of cruelty and inhumanity: "What," says he, "is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?"

And yet, for all this, it is highly probable, that he was then that very man he could not imagine himself to be: for we find him, on the very next day after his return, in a very treacherous and disloyal manner, murdering his own master, and usurping his kingdom; which was but a prologue to the sad tragedy which he afterwards acted upon the people of Israel.

And now the case is but very little better with most men, than it was with Hazael. However it cometh to pass, they are wonderfully unacquainted with their own temper and disposition, and know very little of what passeth within them: for of so many proud, ambitious, revengeful, envying, and ill-natured persons that are in the world, where is there one of them, who, although he hath all the
symptoms

symptoms of the vice appearing upon every occasion, can look with such an impartial eye upon himself, as to believe that the imputation thrown upon him is not altogether groundless and unfair? who, if he were told, by men of a discerning spirit and a strong conjecture, of all the evil and absurd things which that false heart of his would at one time or other betray him into, would not believe as little, and wonder as much, as Hazael did before him? Thus, for instance, tell an angry person, that he is weak and impotent, and of no consistency of mind; tell him, that such or such a little accident, which he may then despise, and think much below a passion, shall hereafter make him say and do several absurd, indiscreet, and misbecoming things: he may perhaps own, that he hath a spirit of resentment within him, that will not let him be imposed on; but he fondly imagines, that he can lay a becoming restraint upon it when he pleases, although it is ever running away with him into some indecency or other.

Therefore, to bring down the words of my text to our present occasion, I shall endeavour, in a further prosecution of them, to evince the great necessity of a nice and curious inspection into the several recesses of the heart; that being the surest and the shortest method that a wicked man can take to reform himself. For let us but stop the fountain, and the streams will spend and waste themselves away in a very little time: but if we go about, like children, to raise a bank, and to stop the current, not taking notice all the while of the spring which continually feedeth it; when the next flood of a temptation riseth, and breaketh in upon it, then we shall find, that we have begun at the wrong end of our duty, and that we are very little more the better for it, than if we had sat still, and made no advances at all.

But,

But, in order to a clearer explanation of the point, I shall speak to these following particulars,

1. By endeavouring to prove, from particular instances, that man is generally the most ignorant creature in the world of himself.

2. By inquiring into the grounds and reasons of this ignorance.

3. And lastly, by proposing several advantages that do most assuredly attend a due improvement in the knowledge of ourselves.

I. First then, To prove that man is generally the most ignorant creature in the world of himself :

To pursue the heart of man through all the instances of life, in all its several windings and turnings, and under that infinite variety of shapes and appearances which it putteth on, would be a difficult and almost impossible undertaking : so that I shall confine myself to such as have a nearer reference to the present occasion, and do, upon a closer view, shew themselves through the whole business of repentance. For we all know what it is to repent ; but whether he repenteth him truly of his sins or not, who can know it ?

Now, the great duty of repentance is chiefly made up of these two parts ; a hearty sorrow for the follies and miscarriages of the time past, and a full purpose and resolution of amendment for the time to come. And now, to shew the falseness of the heart in both these parts of repentance. And,

First, As to a hearty sorrow for the sins and miscarriages of the time past : Is there a more usual thing than for a man to impose upon himself, by putting on a grave and demure countenance, by casting a severe look into his past conduct, and making some few pious and devout reflections upon it, and then to believe that he hath repented to an excellent purpose, without ever letting it step forth into practice,

and shew itself in a holy conversation? Nay, some persons do carry the deceit a little higher; who, if they can but bring themselves to weep for their sins, are then full of an ill-grounded confidence and security; never considering, that all this may prove to be no more than the very garb and outward dress of a contrite heart, which another heart, as hard as the nether millstone, may as well put on. For tears and sighs, however in some persons they may be decent and commendable expressions of a godly sorrow, are neither necessary, nor infallible signs of a true and unfeigned repentance: not necessary, because sometimes, and in some persons, the inward grief and anguish of the mind may be too big to be expressed by so little a thing as a tear; and then it turneth its edge inwards upon the mind; and, like those wounds of the body which bleed inwardly, it generally proves the most fatal and dangerous to the whole body of sin: not infallible, because a very small portion of sorrow may make some tender dispositions melt, and break out into tears; or a man may perhaps weep at parting with his sins, as he would to bid the last farewell to an old friend, that he was sure never to see again.

But there is still a more pleasant cheat in this affair, that when we find a deadness, and a strange kind of unaptness and indisposition to all impressions of religion, and that we cannot be as truly sorry for our sins as we should be, we then pretend to be sorry that we are not more sorry for them; which is not less absurd and irrational, than that a man should pretend to be very angry at a thing; because he did not know how to be angry at all.

But after all, what is wanting in this part of repentance, we expect to make it up in the next; and to that purpose we put on a resolution of amendment, which we take to be as firm as a house built upon

upon a rock ; so that let the floods arise, and the winds blow, and the streams beat vehemently upon it, nothing shall shake it into ruin and disorder. We doubt not, upon the strength of this resolve, to stand fast and unmoved amidst the storm of a temptation ; and do firmly believe, at the time we make it, that nothing in the world will ever be able to make us commit those sins over again, which we have so firmly resolved against.

Thus many a time have we come to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, with a full purpose of amendment, and with as full a persuasion of putting that same purpose into practice ; and yet have we not all as often broke that good purpose, and falsified that same persuasion, by starting aside, like a broken bow, into those very sins which we then so solemnly and so confidently declared against ?

Whereas, had but any other person entered with us into a vow so solemn, that he had taken the holy sacrament upon it, I believe had he but once deceived us by breaking in upon the vow, we should hardly ever after be prevailed upon to trust that man again, although we still continue to trust our own hearts, against reason and against experience.

This indeed is a dangerous deceit enough ; and will of course betray all those well-meaning persons into sin and folly, who are apt to take religion for a much easier thing than it is. But this is not the only mistake we are apt to run into : we do not only think sometimes that we can do more than we can do, but sometimes that we are incapable of doing less : An error of another kind indeed, but not less dangerous, arising from a diffidence and false humility : for how much a wicked man can do in the business of religion, if he would do his best, is very often more than he can tell.

Thus nothing is more common, than to see a wicked man running headlong into sin and folly, against his reason, against his religion, and against

his God. Tell him, that what he is going to do will be an infinite disparagement to his understanding; which at another time he setteth no small value upon; tell him, that it will blacken his reputation, which he had rather die for than lose; tell him, that the pleasure of the sin is short and transient, and leaveth a vexatious kind of sting behind it, which will very hardly be drawn forth; tell him, that this is one of those things for which God will most surely bring him to judgment, which he pretendeth to believe with a full assurance and persuasion: And yet, for all this, he shutteth his eyes against all conviction, and rusheth into the sin, like a horse into the battle; as if he had nothing left to do, but, like a silly child, to wink hard, and to think to escape a certain and an infinite mischief, only by endeavouring not to see it.

And now to shew that the heart hath given in a false report of the temptation, we may learn from this, that the same weak man would resist and master the same powerful temptation, upon considerations of infinitely less value than those which religion offereth, nay, such vile considerations, that the grace of God cannot, without blasphemy, be supposed to add any manner of force and efficacy to them. Thus, for instance, it would be an hard matter to dress up a sin in such soft and tempting circumstances, that a truly covetous man would not resist for a considerable sum of money; when neither the hopes of heaven nor the fears of hell could make an impression upon him before. But can any thing be a surer indication of the deceitfulness of the heart, than thus to shew more courage, resolution, and activity, in an ill cause, than it doth in a good one? and to exert itself to better purpose, when it is to serve its own pride, or lust, or revenge, or any other passion, than when it is to serve God upon the motives of the gospel, and upon all the arguments that have ever been made use of

of to bring men over to religion and a good life ? And thus having shewn that a man is wonderfully apt to deceive and impose upon himself, in passing through the several stages of that great duty, repentance, I proceed now, in the

II. Second place, to inquire into the grounds and reasons of this ignorance, and to shew whence it cometh to pass; that a man, the only creature in the world that can reflect and look into himself, should know so little of what passeth within him, and be so very much unacquainted even with the standing dispositions and complexion of his own heart. The prime reason of it is, because we so very seldom converse with ourselves, and take so little notice of what passeth within us. For a man can no more know his own heart than he can know his own face, any other way than by reflection : He may as well tell over every feature of the smaller portions of his face without the help of a looking-glass, as he can tell all the inward bents and tendencies of the soul, those standing features and lineaments of the inward man, and know all the various changes that this is liable to, from custom, from passion, and from opinion, without a very frequent use of looking within himself.

For our passion and inclinations are not always upon the wing, and always moving towards their respective objects; but retire now and then into the more dark and hidden recesses of the heart, where they lie concealed for a while, until a fresh occasion calls them forth again ; so that not every transient, oblique glance upon the mind, can bring a man into a through knowlege of all its strengths and weaknesses ; far a man may sometimes turn the eye of the mind inward upon itself, as he may behold his natural face in a glass, and go away, and straight forget what manner of man he was. But a man must rather sit down, and unravel every
action

action of the past day into all its circumstances and particularities, and observe how every little thing moved and affected him, and what manner of impression it made upon his heart : This done with that frequency and carefulness which the importance of the duty doth require, would in a short time bring him into a near and intimate acquaintance with himself.

But when men, instead of this, do pass away months and years in a perfect slumber of the mind without once awaking it, it is no wonder they should be so very ignorant of themselves, and know very little more of what passeth within them than the very beasts which perish. But here it may not be amiss to inquire into the reasons why most men have so little conversation with themselves.

And, *1st*, Because this reflection is a work and labour of the mind, and cannot be performed without some pain and difficulty. For, before a man can reflect upon himself, and look into his heart with a steady eye, he must contract his sight, and collect all his scattered and roving thoughts into some order and compass, that he may be able to take a clear and distinct view of them ; he must retire from the world for a while, and be unattentive to all impressions of sense ; And how hard and painful a thing must it needs be to a man of passion and infirmity, amidst such a crowd of objects that are continually striking upon the sense, and soliciting the affections, not to be moved and interrupted by one or other of them ! But,

2^{dly}, Another reason why we so seldom converse with ourselves, is, because the business of the world taketh up all our time, and leaveth us no portion of it to spend upon this great work and labour of the mind. Thus twelve or fourteen years pass away before we can well discern good from evil ; and of the rest so much goeth away in sleep, so much in the ordinary business of life, and so much

in the proper business of our callings, that we have none to lay out upon the more serious and religious employments. Every man's life is an imperfect sort of a circle, which he repeateth and runneth over every day; he hath a set of thoughts, desires, and inclinations, which return upon him in their proper time and order, and will very hardly be laid aside to make room for any thing new and uncommon: So that call upon him when you please, to set about the study of his own heart, and you are sure to find him pre-engaged; either he hath some business to do, or some diversion to take, some acquaintance that he must visit, or some company that he must entertain, or some cross accident hath put him out of humour, and unfitted him for such a grave employment. And thus it comes to pass, that a man can never find leisure to look into himself, because he doth not set apart some portion of the day for that very purpose, but foolishly deferreth it from one day to another, until his glass is almost run out, and he is called upon to give a miserable account of himself in the other world. But,

3dly, Another reason why a man doth not more frequently converse with himself, is, because such a conversation with his own heart may discover some vice or some infirmity lurking within him, which he is very unwilling to believe himself guilty of. For can there be a more ungrateful thing to a man, than to find, that, upon a nearer view, he is not that person he took himself to be? that he hath neither the courage, nor the honesty, nor the piety, nor the humility, that he dreamed he had? that a very little pain, for instance, putteth him out of patience, and as little pleasure softeneth and disarmeth him into ease and wantonness? that he hath been at more pains, and labour, and cost, to be revenged of an enemy, than to oblige the

the best friend he hath in the world? that he cannot bring himself to say his prayers without a great deal of reluctancy; and when he doth say them, the spirit and fervour of devotion evaporate in a very short time, and he can scarcely hold out a prayer of ten lines, without a number of idle and impertinent, if not vain and wicked thoughts coming into his head? These are very unwelcome discoveries that a man may make of himself; so that it is no wonder that every one who is already flushed with a good opinion of himself, should rather study how to run away from it, than how to converse with his own heart.

But further, if a man were both able and willing to retire into his own heart, and to set apart some portion of the day for that very purpose; yet he is still disabled from passing a fair and impartial judgment upon himself, by several difficulties, arising partly from prejudice and prepossession, partly from the lower appetites and inclinations, And,

1st, That the business of prepossession may lead and betray a man into a false judgment of his own heart. For we may observe, that the first opinion we take up of any thing, or of any person, doth generally stick close to us; the nature of the mind being such, that it cannot but desire, and consequently endeavour, to have some certain principles to go upon, something fixed and immovable, whereon it may rest and support itself. And hence it cometh to pass, that some persons are with so much difficulty brought to think well of a man they have once entertained an ill opinion of; and, perhaps, that too for a very absurd and unwarrantable reason. But how much more difficult then must it be, for a man who taketh up a fond opinion of his own heart, long before he hath either years or sense enough to understand it, either to be persuaded out of it by himself, whom he loveth

loveth so well ; or, by another, whose interest or diversion it may be to make him ashamed of himself ? Then,

2dly, As to the difficulties arising from the inferior appetites and inclinations, let any man look into his own heart, and observe in how different a light, and under what different complexions, any two sins, of equal turpitude and malignity, do appear to him, if he hath but a strong inclination to the one, and none at all to the other. That which he hath an inclination to, is always dressed up in all the false beauty that a fond and busy imagination can give it ; the other appeareth naked and deformed, and in all the true circumstances of folly and dishonour. Thus, stealing is a vice that few gentlemen are inclined to ; and they justly think it below the dignity of a man, to stoop to so base and low a sin : But no principle of honour, no workings of the mind and conscience, not the still voice of mercy, not the dreadful call of judgment, nor any considerations whatever, can put a stop to that violence and oppression, that pride and ambition, that revelling and wantonness, which we every day we meet with in the world. Nay, it is easy to observe very different thoughts in a man, of the sin that he is most fond of, according to the different ebbs and flows of his inclination to it. For as soon as the appetite is alarmed, and seizeth upon the heart, a little cloud gathereth about the head, and spreadeth a kind of darkness over the face of the soul, whereby it is hindered from taking a clear and distinct view of things : But no sooner is the appetite tired and satiated, but the same cloud passeth away like a shadow, and a new light springing up in the mind of a sudden, the man seeth much more, both of the folly and of the danger of the sin, than he did before.

And thus having done with the several reasons, why man, the only creature in the world that can

reflect and look into himself, is so very ignorant of what passeth within him, and so much unacquainted with the standing dispositions and complexions of his own heart : I proceed now, in the

III. Third and last place, to lay down several advantages, that do *most assuredly* attend a due improvement in the knowledge of ourselves. And,

1. One great advantage is, that it tendeth very much to mortify and humble a man into a modest and low opinion of himself. For let a man take a nice and curious inspection into all the several regions of the heart, and observe every thing irregular and amiss within him ; for instance, how narrow and short-sighted a thing is the understanding ! upon how little reason do we take up an opinion, and upon how much less sometimes do we lay it down again ! how weak and false ground do we often walk upon, with the biggest confidence and assurance ; and how tremulous and doubtful we are very often, where no doubt is to be made ! again, how wild and impertinent, how busy and incoherent a thing is the imagination, even in the best and wisest men ; insomuch that every man may be said to be mad, but every man doth not shew it ! Then, as to the passions, how noisy, how turbulent, and how tumultuous are they ! how easily are they stirred and set a-going ; how eager and hot in the pursuit, and what strange disorder and confusion do they throw a man into, so that he can neither think, nor speak, nor act, as he should do, while he is under the dominion of any of them.

Thus, let every man look with a severe and impartial eye into all the distinct regions of the heart ; and, no doubt, several deformities and irregularities that he never thought of, will open and disclose themselves upon so near a view ; and rather make the man ashamed of himself, than proud.

2. A due improvement in the knowlege of ourselves, doth certainly secure us from the sly and insinuating assaults of flattery. There is not in the world a baser, and more hateful thing, than flattery. It proceedeth from so much falseness and insincerity in the man that giveth it, and often discovereth so much weakness and folly in the man that taketh it, that it is hard to tell which of the two is most to be blamed. Every man of common sense can demonstrate in speculation and may be fully convinced, that all the praises and commendations of the whole world can add no more to the real and intrinsic value of a man, than they can add to his stature. And yet, for all this, men of the best sense and piety when they come down to the practice, cannot forbear thinking much better of themselves, when they have the good fortune to be spoken well of by other persons.

But the meaning of this absurd proceeding seemeth to be no other than this; There are few men that have so intimate an acquaintance with their own hearts, as to know their own real worth, and how to set a just rate upon themselves; and therefore they do not know, but that he who praises them most, may be most in the right of it. For, no doubt if a man were ignorant of the true value of a thing he loved as well as himself, he would measure the worth of it according to the esteem of him who biddeth most for it, rather than of him that biddeth less.

Therefore the most infalliable way to disintangle a man from the snares of flattery, is, to consult and study his own heart; for whoever does that well, will hardly be so absurd, as to take another man's word, before his own sense and experience.

3. Another advantage from this kind of study, is this, that it teacheth a man how to behave himself patiently, when he has the ill fortune to be censured and abused by other people. For a man who is thoroughly acquainted with his own heart, doth

already know much more evil of himself than any body else can tell him; and when any one speaketh ill of him, he rather thanketh God, that he can say no worse. For could his enemy but look into the dark and hidden recesses of the heart, he considereth what a number of impure thoughts he might there see brooding and hovering like a dark cloud upon the face of the soul; that there he might take a prospect of the fancy, and view it acting over the several scenes of pride, of ambition, of envy, of lust, and revenge; that there he might tell how often a vitious inclination hath been restrained, for no other reason, but just to save the man's credit or interest in the world; and how many unbecoming ingredients have entered into the composition of his best actions. And now, what man in the whole world would be able to bear so severe a test, to have every thought and inward motion of the heart laid open and exposed to the view of his enemies? But,

4. and *lastly*, Another advantage of this kind is, that it maketh men less severe upon other people's faults, and less busy and industrious in spreading them. For a man employed at home, inspecting into his own failings, hath not leisure enough to take notice of every little spot and blemish that lieth scattered upon others: or, if he cannot escape the sight of them, he always passes the most easy and favourable construction upon them. Thus, for instance, does the ill he knoweth of a man proceed from an unhappy temper and constitution of body? He then considereth with himself, how hard a thing it is, not to be borne down with the current of the blood and spirits; and accordingly layeth some part of the blame upon the weakness of human nature; for he hath felt the force and rapidity of it within his own breast; though, perhaps, in another instance, he remembereth how it rageth and swelleth by opposition; and
though

though it may be restrained, or diverted for a while, yet it can hardly ever be totally subdued.

Or, hath the man sinned out of custom? he then, from his own experience, traceth a habit into the very first rise and imperfect beginnings of it; and can tell, by how slow and insensible advances it creepeth upon the heart; how it worketh itself by degrees into the very frame and texture of it, and so passeth into a second nature; and consequently he hath a just sense of the great difficulty for him to learn to do good, who hath been long accustomed to do evil.

Or, lastly, hath a false opinion betrayed him into a sin? he then calleth to mind what wrong apprehensions he hath had of some things himself; how many opinions that he once made no doubt of, he hath, upon a stricter examination, found to be doubtful and uncertain; how many more to be unreasonable and absurd. He knoweth further, that there are a great many more opinions that he hath never yet examined into at all, and which, however, he still believeth, for no other reason, but because he hath believed them so long already without a reason. Thus, upon every occasion, a man intimately acquainted with himself, consulteth his own heart, and maketh every man's case to be his own, (and so puts the most favourable interpretation upon it) Let every man therefore look into his own heart, before he beginneth to abuse the reputation of another, and then he will hardly be so absurd, as to throw a dart that will so certainly rebound, and wound himself. And thus, through the whole course of his conversation, let him keep an eye upon that one great and comprehensive rule of Christian duty, on which hangeth not only the law and the prophets, but the very life and spirit of the gospel too: *Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so*
unto

unto them. Which rule that we may all duly observe, by throwing aside all scandal and detraction, all spite and rancour, all rudeness and contempt, all rage and violence, and whatever tendeth to make conversation and commerce either uneasy or troublesome, may the God of peace grant, for Jesus Christ's sake, &c.

Consider what has been said, and the Lord give you a right understanding in all things. To whom, with the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, and glory, now and for ever.





A PROPOSAL humbly offered to the PARLIAMENT, for the more effectual preventing the further growth of POPERY.

With the description and use of the ECCLESIASTICAL THERMOMETER.

Very proper for all families.

*Infanti sanus nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultra quam satis est, virtutem si petat ipsum.*

HOR.

HAVING, with great sorrow of heart, observed the increase of Popery among us of late years, and how ineffectual the penal laws and statutes of this realm have been, for near forty years last past, towards reclaiming that blind and deluded people from their errors, notwithstanding the good intentions of the legislators, and the *pious and unwearied labours* of the many learned divines of the established church, who have preached to them *without ceasing*, although hitherto without success:

Having also remarked, in his Grace's speech to both houses of parliament, most kind offers of his Grace's good offices, towards obtaining such further laws as shall be thought necessary towards bringing home the said wandering sheep into the fold of the church; as also a good disposition in the parliament to join in the *laudable* work, towards which every good Protestant ought to contribute

at least his advice: I think it a proper time to lay before the public a scheme which was writ some years since, and laid by to be ready on a fit occasion.

That whereas the several penal laws and statutes now in being against Papists, have been found ineffectual, and rather tend to confirm than reclaim men from their errors, as, calling a man *coward*, is a ready way to make him fight; it is humbly proposed,

I. That the said penal laws and statutes against Papists, except the law of *Gavelkind*, and that which disqualifies them for places, be repealed, abrogated, annulled, destroyed, and obliterated, to all intents and purposes.

II. That, in room of the said penal laws and statutes, all ecclesiastical jurisdiction be taken from out of the hands of the clergy of the established church, and the same be vested in the several Popish archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons; nevertheless so as such jurisdiction be exercised over persons of the Popish religion only.

III. That a Popish priest shall be settled by law in each and every parish in Ireland.

IV. That the said Popish priest shall, on taking the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, be intitled to a tenth part or tithe of all things tithable in Ireland, belonging to the Papists within their respective parishes; yet so as such grant of tithes to such Popish priests, shall not be construed, *in law or equity*, to hinder the Protestant clergyman of such parish from receiving and collecting his tithes, in *like manner* as he does at present.

V. That, in case of detention or subtraction of tithes by any Papist, the parish-priest do have his remedy at law, in any of his Majesty's courts, in the same manner as now practised by the clergy of the established church; together with all other ecclesiastical dues. And, for their further discovery, to

vex

vex their people at law, it might not be amiss to oblige the Solicitor-General, or some other able King's counsel, to give his advice or assistance to such priests *gratis*, for which he might receive a salary out of the *barrack-fund, military contingencies, or concordatum*; having observed the exceedings there better paid than of the army, or any other branch of the establishment; and I would have no delay in payment in a matter of this importance.

VI. That the archbishops and bishops have power to visit the inferior clergy, and to extort proxies exhibits, and all other perquisites usual in *Popish and Protestant countries*.

VII. That the convocation having been found, by long experience, to be hurtful to *true religion*, be for ever hereafter abolished among Protestants.

VIII. That, in the room thereof, the Popish archbishops, bishops, priests, deans, archdeacons, and proctors, have liberty to assemble themselves in convocation, and be impowered to make such canons as they shall think proper for the government of the Papists in Ireland.

IX. And, that the secular arm being necessary to enforce obedience to ecclesiastical censure, the sheriffs, constables, and other officers, be commanded to execute the decrees and sentences of the said Popish convocation, with secrecy and dispatch; or, in lieu thereof, they may be at liberty to erect an inquisition with proper officers of their own.

X That, as Papists declare themselves converts to the established church, all *spiritual power* over them shall cease.

XI. That as soon as any whole parish shall renounce the popish religion, the Priest of such parish shall, for his good services, have a pension of 200 l. *per annum* settled on him for life, and that he be, from such time, exempt from preaching and

praying, and other duties of his function, in like manner as *Protestant divines*, with equal incomes, are at present.

XII. That each bishop, so soon as his diocese shall become Protestants, be called *My Lord*, and have a pension of two thousand pounds *per annum* during life.

XIII. That when a whole province shall be reclaimed, the archbishop shall be called *His Grace*, and have a pension of three thousand pounds *per annum*, during life, and be admitted a member of his Majesty's *most honourable privy council*.

The good consequences of this scheme (which will execute itself without murmurings against the government) are very visible. I shall mention a few of the most obvious.

I. The giving the priest a right to the tithe would produce law suits and wrangles; his Reverence, being intitled to a certain income at all events, would consider himself as a legal incumbent, and *behave accordingly*, and apply himself more to fleecing than feeding his flock. His necessary attendance on the courts of justice would leave his people without a *spiritual guide*; by which means protestant curates, who have no suits about tithes, would be furnished with proper opportunities for making converts, which is very much wanted.

II. The erecting a spiritual jurisdiction amongst them, would, *in all probability*, drive as many out of that communion, as a *due execution* of such jurisdiction hath hitherto drove from amongst ourselves.

III. An *inquisition* would still be a further improvement, and most certainly would expedite the conversion of Papists.

I know it may be objected to this scheme, and with some shew of reason, That, should the Popish princes abroad pursue the same methods, with regard to their Protestant subjects, the Protestant interest

terest in Europe would thereby be considerably weakned. But, as we have no reason to suspect Popish counsels will ever produce so much moderation, I think the objection ought to have but little weight.

A due execution of this scheme will soon produce many converts from Popery: nevertheless, to the end it may be known when they shall be of the true church, I have ordered a large parcel of ecclesiastical or church *thermometers* to be made, one of which is to be hung up in each parish church; the description and use of which take as follows, in the words of the ingenious Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq;

THE church-thermometer, which I am now to treat of, is supposed to have been invented in the reign of Henry VIII. about the time when that religious prince put some to death for owning the Pope's supremacy, and others for denying transubstantiation. I do not find, however, any great use made of this instrument, till it fell into the hand of a learned and vigilant priest or minister, (for he frequently wrote himself both the one and the other), who was some time vicar of Bray. This gentleman lived in his vicarage to a good old age; and, after having seen several successions of his neighbouring clergy, either burnt or banished, departed this life with the satisfaction of having never deserted his flock, and died vicar of Bray. As this glass was first designed to calculate the different degrees of heat in religion, as it raged in Popery, or as it cooled and grew temperate in the reformation, it was marked at several distances, after the manner our ordinary thermometer is to this day, *viz. Extreme hot, Sultry hot, Very hot, Hot, Warm, Temperate, Cold, Just freezing, Frost, Hard frost, Great frost, Extreme cold.*

It is well known, that Torricellius, the inventor of the common weather-glass, made the experi-

ment of a long tube which held thirty-two feet of water; and that a more modern virtuoso finding such a machine altogether unwieldy and useless, and considering that thirty-two inches of quicksilver weighed as much as so many foot of water in a tube of the same circumference, invented that fizable instrument which is now in use. After this manner, that I might adapt the thermometer I am now speaking of to the present constitution of our church, as divided into *High* and *Low*, I have made some necessary variations, both in the tube, and the fluid it contains. In the first place, I ordered a tube to be cast in a planetary hour, and took care to seal it hermetically, when the sun was in conjunction with Saturn. I then took the proper precautions about the fluid, which is a compound of two different liquors; one of them a spirit drawn out of a strong heady wine; the other a particular sort of rock-water, colder than ice, and clearer than crystal. The spirit is of a red, fiery colour; and so very apt to ferment, that, unless it be mingled with a proportion of the water, or pent up very close, it will burst the vessel that holds it, and fly up in fume and smoke. The water, on the contrary, is of such a subtle, piercing cold, that unless it be mingled with a proportion of the spirits, it will sink almost through every thing it is put into; and seems to be of the same nature as the water mentioned by Quintus Curtius, which, says the historian, could be contained in nothing but the hoof, or (as the Oxford manuscript has it) the scull of an ass. The thermometer is marked according to the following figure, which I set down at length, not only to give my reader a clear idea of it, but also to fill up my paper.

Ignorance

*Ignorance.**Persecution.**Wrath.**Zeal.**CHURCH.**Moderation.**Lukewarmness.**Infidelity.**Ignorance.*

The reader will observe, that the *Church* is placed in the middle point of the glass, between *Zeal* and *Moderation*, the situation in which she always flourishes, and in which every good Englishman wishes her, who is a friend to the constitution of his country. However, when it mounts to *Zeal*, it is not amiss; and when it sinks to *Moderation*, it is still in admirable temper. The worst of it is, that when once it begins to rise, it has still an inclination to ascend, insomuch that it is apt to climb from *Zeal* to *Wrath*, and from *Wrath* to *Persecution*, which often ends in *Ignorance*, and very often proceeds from it. In the same manner, it frequently takes its progress through the lower half of the glass; and, when it has a tendency to fall, will gradually descend from *Moderation* to *Lukewarmness*, and from *Lukewarmness* to *Infidelity*, which very often terminates in *Ignorance*, and always proceeds from it.

It is a common observation, that the ordinary thermometer will be affected by the breathing of people who are in the room where it stands; and indeed it is almost incredible to conceive, how the glass I am now describing will fall by the breath of the multitude crying *Popery*; or, on the contrary, how it will rise when the same multitude (as it sometimes happens) cry out in the same breath, *The church is in danger.*

As soon as I had finished this my glass, and adjusted

justed it to the above-mentioned scale of religion, that I might make proper experiments with it, I carried it under my cloak to several coffeehouses, and other places of resort, about this great city. At St. James's coffeehouse the liquor stood at *Moderation*; but at Will's, to my extreme surprise, it subsided to the very lowest mark of the glass. At the Grecian it mounted but just one point higher; at the Rainbow it still ascended two degrees; Child's fetched it up to *Zeal*, and other adjacent coffeehouses to *Wrath*.

It fell in the lower half of the glass, as I went further into the city, till at length it settled at *Moderation*, where it continued all the time I staid about the Change, as also whilst I passed by the Bank. And here I cannot but take notice, that, through the whole course of my remarks, I never observed my glass to rise at the same time that the stocks did.

To complete the experiment, I prevailed upon a friend of mine, who works under me in the occult sciences, to make a progress with my glass through the whole island of Great Britain; and after his return, to present me with a register of his observations. I guessed beforehand at the temper of several places he passed through, by the characters they have had, time out of mind. Thus, that facetious divine, Dr. Fuller, speaking of the town of Banbury, near a hundred years ago, tell us, it was a place famous for cakes and *zeal*; which I find by my glass is true to this day, as to the latter part of his description; though I must confess, it is not in the same reputation for cakes that it was in the time of that learned author; and thus of other places. In short, I have now by me, digested in an alphabetical order, all the counties, corporations, and boroughs in Great Britain, with their respective tempers, as they stand related in my thermometer. But this I shall keep to myself, because

because I would by no means do any thing that may seem to influence any ensuing election.

The point of doctrine which I would propagate by this my invention, is the same which was long ago advanced by that able teacher Horace, out of whom I have taken my text for this discourse. We should be careful not to overshoot ourselves, in the pursuits even of virtue. Whether *Zeal* or *Moderation* be the point we aim at, let us keep fire out of the one; and frost out of the other. But, alas! the world is too wise to want such a precaution. The terms *High-church* and *Low-church*, as commonly used; do not so much denote a principle, as they distinguish a party. They are like words of battle, that have nothing to do with their original signification, but are only given to keep out a body of men together, and to let them know friends from enemies.

I must confess, I have considered, with some attention, the influence which the opinions of these great national sects have upon their practice; and do look upon it as one of the unaccountable things of our times, that multitudes of honest gentlemen, who entirely agree in their lives, should take it in their heads to differ in their religion.

I shall conclude this paper with an account of a conference which happened between a very excellent divine (whose doctrine was easy, and formerly much respected) and a lawyer.

AND behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted him, saying, Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?

He said unto him, What is written in the law? how readest thou?

And he answering, said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.

And

And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live.

But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbour?

And Jesus answering, said, A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded *him*, and departed, leaving *him* half dead.

And by chance there came down a certain priest that way; and when he saw him he passed by on the other side.

And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on *him*, and passed by on the other side.

But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he had compassion on him,

And went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine; and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him.

And on the morrow, when he departed, he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.

Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves?

And he said, He that shewed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go, and do thou likewise. *Luke x. 25. to 38.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

There is now in the press a proposal for raising a fund towards paying the national debt by the following means. The author would have commissioners appointed to search all the public and private libraries, booksellers shops and warehouses, in this kingdom, for such books as are of no use to the owner, or to the public, *viz.* all comments on the holy scriptures, whether called sermons, creeds, bodies of divinity, tomes of casuistry, vindications, confutations, essays, answers, replies, rejoinders, or sur-rejoinders; together with all other learned treatises and books of divinity of what denomination or class soever: *as* also, all comments on the laws of the land; such as, reports, law-cases, decrees, guides for attorneys and young clerks; and, in fine, all the books now in being in this kingdom, (whether of divinity, law, physic, metaphysics, logics, or politics), except the pure text of the holy scriptures, the naked text of the laws, a few books of morality, poetry, music, architecture, agriculture, mathematics, merchandise, and history: the author would have the aforesaid useless books carried to the several paper-mills, there to be wrought into white paper; which, to prevent damage or complaints, he would have performed by the commentators, critics, popular preachers, apothecaries, learned lawyers, attorneys, solicitors, logicians, physicians, almanac-makers, and others of the like wrong turn of mind; the said paper to be sold, and the produce applied to discharge the national debt. What should remain of the said debt unsatisfied, might be paid by a tax on the salaries or estates of *bankers, common cheats, usurers, treasurers, imbezzlers of public money, general officers, sharpers, pensioners, pick-pockets, &c.*



The PREFACE prefixed to POPE's and
SWIFT's Miscellanies, in four volumes
12mo, 1727.

THE papers that compose the first of these volumes were printed about eighteen years ago, to which there are now added two or three small tracts; and the verses are transferred into the fourth volume apart, with the addition of such others as we since have written. The second and third will consist of several small treatises in prose, in which a friend or two is concerned with us.

Having both of us been extremely ill treated by some booksellers, especially one Edmund Curl, it was our opinion, that the best method we could take for justifying ourselves, would be to publish whatever loose papers, in prose and verse, we have formerly written; not only such as have already stole into the world (very much to our regret, and perhaps very little to our credit), but such as in any probability hereafter may run the same fate; having been obtained from us by the importunity, and divulged by the indiscretion of friends, although restrained by promises, which few of them are ever known to observe, and often think they make us a compliment in breaking.

But the consequences have been still worse: we have been intitled, and have had our names prefixed at length, to whole volumes of mean productions, equally offensive to good manners and good sense, which we never saw nor heard of till they appeared in print.

For a *forgery* in setting a false name to a writing,

ing, which may prejudice another's fortune, the law punishes the offender with the loss of his *ears*; but has inflicted no adequate penalty for such as prejudice another's reputation in doing the same thing in print; though all and every individual book, so sold under a false name, are manifestly so many several and multiplied forgeries.

Indeed we hoped, that the good nature, or at least the good judgement of the world, would have cleared us from the imputation of such things, as had been thus charged upon us by the malice of enemies, the want of judgement in friends, the unconcern of indifferent persons, and the confident assertions of booksellers.

We are ashamed to find so ill a taste prevail, as to make it a necessary work to do this justice to ourselves. It is very possible for any author to write below himself; either his subject not proving so fruitful, or fitted for him, as he at first imagined; or his health, or his humour, or the present disposition of his mind, unqualifying him at that juncture: however, if he possessed any distinguishing marks of style, or peculiarity of thinking, there would remain in his least successful writings some few tokens, whereby persons of taste might discover him.

But since it hath otherwise fallen out, we think we have sufficiently paid for our want of prudence, and determine for the future to be less communicative: or rather, having done with such amusements, we are resolved to give up what we cannot fairly disown, to the severity of critics, the malice of personal enemies, and the indulgence of friends.

We are sorry for the satire interspersed in some of these pieces upon a few people, from whom the highest provocations have been received, and who, by their conduct since, have shewn, that they have not yet forgiven us the wrong they did. It is a very unlucky circumstance, to be obliged to

retaliate the injuries of such authors, whose works are so soon forgotten, that we are in danger already of appearing the first aggressors. It is to be lamented, that Virgil let pass a line, which told posterity he had two enemies, called Bavius and Mævius. The wisest way is not once to name them, but (as the madman advised the gentleman, who told him he wore a sword to kill his enemies), *to let them alone, and they would die of themselves*. And according to this rule we have acted throughout all those writings which we designed for the press: but in those, the publication whereof was not owing to our folly, but that of others, the omission of the names was not in our power. At the worst we can only give them that liberty now for something; which they have so many years exercised for nothing, of railing and scribbling against us. And it is some commendation, that we have not done it all this while, but avoided publicly to characterise any person without long experience. *Nonum prematur in annum*, is a good rule for all writers, but chiefly for writers of characters; because it may happen to those who vent praise or censure too precipitately, as it did to an eminent English poet, who celebrated a young nobleman for erecting Dryden's monument upon a promise, which his Lordship forgot, till it was done by another.

In regard to two persons only we wish our raillery, though ever so tender, or resentment, though ever so just, had not been indulged. We speak of Sir John Vanbrugh, who was a man of wit, and of honour; and of Mr. Addison, whose name deserves all respect from every lover of learning.

We cannot deny (and perhaps most writers of our kind have been in the same circumstances) that in several parts of our lives, and according to the dispositions we were in, we have written some things which we may wish never to have thought on. Some sallies of levity ought to be imputed to youth,
(supposed

(supposed in charity, as it was in truth, to be the time in which we wrote them); others to the gaiety of our minds at certain junctures common to all men. The publishing of these, which we cannot disown, and without our consent, is, we think, a greater injury, than that of ascribing to us the most stupid productions, which we can wholly deny.

This has been usually practised in other countries after a man's decease; which in a great measure accounts for that manifest *inequality* found in the works of the best authors; the collectors only considering, that so many more sheets raise the price of the book; and the greater fame a writer is in possession of, the more of such trash he may bear to have tacked to him. Thus it is apparently the editor's interest to insert what the author's judgement had rejected; and care is always taken to intersperse these additions in such a manner, that scarce any book of consequence can be bought, without purchasing something unworthy of the author along with it.

But in our own country it is still worse: those very booksellers, who have supported themselves upon an author's fame while he lived, have done their utmost after his death to lessen it by such practices: even a man's *last will* is not secure from being exposed in print; whereby his most particular regards, and even his dying tenderneffes, are laid open. It has been humorously said, that some have fished the very jakes for papers left there by men of wit: but it is no jest to affirm, that the cabinets of the sick, and the closets of the dead, have been broke open and ransacked to publish our *private letters*, and divulged to all mankind the most secret sentiments and intercourse of friendship. Nay, these fellows are arrived to that height of impudence, that when an author has publicly disowned a spurious piece, they have disputed his own name with him

him in printed advertisements; which has been practised to Mr. Congreve and Mr. Prior.

We are therefore compelled, in respect to truth, to submit to a very great hardship; to own such pieces as in our stricter judgements we would have suppressed for ever; we are obliged to confess, that this whole collection, in a manner, consists of what we not only thought unlikely to reach the future, but unworthy even of the *present* age; not our studies, but our follies; not our works, but our idleness.

Some comfort however it is, that all of them are innocent, and most of them, slight as they are, had yet a moral tendency; either to soften the virulence of parties against each other; or to laugh out of countenance some vice or folly of the time; or to discredit the impositions of quacks and false pretenders to science; or to humble the arrogance of the ill-natured and envious; in a word, to lessen the *vanity*, and promote the *good humour* of mankind.

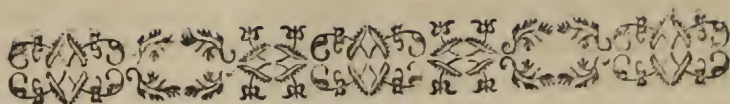
Such as they are, we must in truth confess, they are *ours*, and others should in justice believe, they are *all* that are *ours*. If any thing else has been printed, in which we really had any hand, it is either intolerably imperfect, or loaded with spurious additions; sometimes even with insertions of mens names, which we never meant, and for whom we have an esteem and respect. Even those pieces in which we are least injured, have never before been printed from the true copies, or with any tolerable degree of correctness. We declare, that this collection contains every piece, which in the idlest humour we have written; not only such as came under our review or correction; but many others, which, however unfinished, are not now in our power to suppress. Whatsoever was in our own possession at the publishing hereof, or of which no
copy

copy was gone abroad, we have actually destroyed, to prevent all possibility of the like treatment.

These volumes likewise will contain all the papers wherein we have casually had any share; particularly those written in conjunction with our friends, Dr. Arbuthnot and Mr. Gay; and, lastly, all of this sort composed singly by either of those hands. The reader is therefore desired to do the same justice to these our friends, as to us; and to be assured, that all the *things* called our *miscellanies* (except the works of Alexander Pope, published by B. Lintot, in *quarto* and *folio*, in 1717; those of Mr. Gay by J. Tonson, in *quarto*, in 1720; and as many of these miscellanies as have been formerly printed by Benj. Tooke) are absolutely spurious, and without our consent imposed upon the public.

Twickenham,
May 27, 1727.

JONATH. SWIFT.
ALEX. POPE.



A Discourse of the CONTESTS and DISSENSIONS between the NOBLES and the COMMONS in ATHENS and Rome; with the consequences they had upon both those states *.

——— *Si tibi vera videtur,
Dede manus; et, si falsa est, accingere contra.* Lucr.

Written in the year 1701.

CHAP. I.

IT is agreed, that in all government there is an absolute unlimited power, which naturally and originally seems to be placed in the whole body, wherever the executive part of it lies. This holds in

* This discourse is a kind of remonstrance in behalf of King William and his friends, against the proceedings of the house of Commons; and was published during the recess of parliament in the summer of 1701, with a view to engage them in milder measures when they should meet again.

As this time Lewis XIV. was making large strides towards universal monarchy: plots were carrying on at St. Germain's; the Dutch had acknowledged the Duke of Anjou as King of Spain, and King William was made extremely uneasy by the violence with which many of his ministers and chief favourites were pursued by the Commons; the King, to appease their resentment, had made several changes in his ministry, and removed some of his most faithful servants from places of the highest trust and dignity: this expedient, however, had proved ineffectual, and the Commons persisted in their opposition; they began by impeaching William Bentinck, Earl of Portland,

in the body natural : for wherever we place the beginning of motion, whether from the head, or the heart, or the animal spirits in general, the body moves and acts by a consent of all its parts. This unlimited power, placed fundamentally in the body of a people, is what the best legislators of all ages have endeavoured, in their several schemes or institutions of government, to deposit in such hands as would preserve the people from rapine and oppression within, as well as violence from without. Most of them seem to agree in this, that it was a trust too great to be committed to any one man or assembly, and therefore they left the right still in the whole body ; but the administration or executive part in the hands of the *one*, the *few*, or the *many*, into which three powers all independent bodies of men seem naturally to divide ; for by all I have read of those innumerable and petty commonwealths in Italy, Greece, and Sicily, as well as the great ones of Carthage and Rome, it seems to me, that a free people met together, whether by *compact*, or *family-government*, as soon as they fall into any acts of civil society, do of themselves divide into three powers. The first is that of some one eminent spirit, who, having signalized his valour and fortune in defence of his

Portland, Groom of the Stole ; and proceeded to the impeachment of John Somers, Baron Somers of Evesham, First Lord Keeper, afterwards Lord Chancellor ; Edward Russell, Earl of Orford, Lord Treasurer of the Navy, and one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty ; and Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer. Its general purport is to damp the warmth of the Commons, by shewing, that the measures they pursued had a direct tendency to bring on the tyranny which they professed to oppose ; and the particular cases of the impeached Lords are paralleled in Athenian characters.

This whole treatise is full of historical knowledge, and excellent reflections. It is not mixed with any improper sallies of wit, or any light airs of humour ; and, in point of style and learning, is equal, if not superior, to any of Swift's political works. *Errery.*

country, or by the practice of popular arts at home, comes to have great influence on the people, to grow their leader in warlike expeditions, and to preside, after a sort, in their civil assemblies; and this is grounded upon the principles of nature and common reason, which in all difficulties or dangers, where prudence or courage is required, do rather incite us to fly for counsel or assistance to a single person, than a multitude. The second natural division of power is of such men, who have acquired large possessions, and consequently dependencies, or descend from ancestors who have left them great inheritances, together with an hereditary authority. These easily uniting in thoughts and opinions, and acting in concert, begin to enter upon measures for securing their properties, which are best upheld by preparing against invasions from abroad, and maintaining peace at home; this commences a great council or senate of nobles for the weighty affairs of the nation. The last division is of the mass or body of the people, whose part of power is great and indisputable, whenever they can unite either collectively, or by deputation, to exert it. Now, the three forms of government, so generally known in the schools, differ only by the civil administration being placed in the hands of one, or sometimes two, (as in Sparta), who were called *Kings*; or in a senate, who were called the *Nobles*; or in the people collective or representative, who may be called the *Commons*. Each of these had frequently the executive power in Greece, and sometimes in Rome; but the power in the last resort was always meant by legislators to be held in balance among all three. And it will be an eternal rule in politics among every free people, that there is a balance of power to be carefully held by every state within itself, as well as among several states with each other.

The true meaning of a balance of power, either
without

without or within a state, is best conceived by considering what the nature of a balance is. It supposes three things : First, the part which is held, together with the hand that holds it ; and then the two scales, with whatever is weighed therein. Now, consider several states in a neighbourhood ; in order to preserve peace between these states, it is necessary they should be formed into a balance, whereof one or more are to be directors, who are to divide the rest into equal scales, and upon occasion remove from one into the other, or else fall with their own weight into the lightest ; so in a state within itself, the balance must be held by a third hand, who is to deal the remaining power with the utmost exactness into the several scales. Now, it is not necessary, that the power should be equally divided between these three ; for the balance may be held by the weakest, who, by his address and conduct, removing from either scale, and adding of his own, may keep the scales duly poized. Such was that of the two kings of Sparta, the consular power in Rome, that of the kings of Media before the reign of Cyrus, as represented by Xenophon ; and that of the several limited states in the Gothic institution.

When the balance is broken, whether by the negligence, folly, or weakness of the hand that held it, or by mighty weights fallen into either scale, the power will never continue long in equal division between the two remaining parties, but, till the balance is fixed anew, will run entirely into one. This gives the truest account of what is understood in the most ancient and approved Greek authors by the word *tyranny*, which is not meant for the seizing of the uncontrolled or absolute power into the hands of a single person, (as many superficial men have grossly mistaken), but for the breaking of the balance by whatever hand, and leaving the power wholly in one scale ; for *tyranny* and *usurpa-*

tion in a state are by no means confined to any number, as might easily appear from examples enough; and because the point is material, I shall cite a few to prove it.

The Romans * having sent to Athens, and the Greek cities of Italy, for the copies of the best laws, chose ten legislators to put them into form, and, during the exercise of their office, suspended the consular power, leaving the administration of affairs in their hands. These very men, though chosen for such a work, as the digesting a body of laws for the government of a free state, did immediately usurp arbitrary power; ran into all the forms of it, had their guards and spies after the practice of the tyrants of those ages, affected kingly state, destroyed the nobles, and oppressed the people; one of them proceeding so far, as to endeavour to force a lady of great virtue: the very crime which gave occasion to the expulsion of the regal power but sixty years before, as this attempt did to that of the Decemviri.

The Ephori in Sparta were at first only certain persons deputed by the kings to judge in civil matters, while *they* were employed in the wars. These men, at several times, usurped the absolute authority, and were as cruel tyrants, as any in their age.

Soon ‡ after the unfortunate expedition into Sicily, the Athenians chose four hundred men for administration of affairs, who became a body of tyrants, and were called, in the language of those ages, an *oligarchy*, or tyranny of the *few*; under which hateful denomination they were soon after deposed in great rage by the people.

When Athens † was subdued by Lysander, he appointed thirty men for the administration of that

* Dionys. Hal. lib. 10.

‡ Thucyd. lib. 8.

† Xenophon de rebus Græc. lib. 2.

city, who immediately fell into the rankest tyranny: but this was not all; for conceiving their power not founded on a *basis* large enough, they admitted three thousand into a share of the government; and thus fortified, became the cruellest tyranny upon record. They murdered in cold blood great numbers of the best men, without any provocation, from the mere lust of cruelty, like Nero or Caligula. This was such a number of tyrants together, as amounted to near a third part of the whole city; for Xenophon tells us †, that the city contained about ten thousand houses; and allowing one man to every horse, who could have any share in the government, (the rest consisting of women, children, and servants), and making other obvious abatements, these tyrants, if they had been careful to adhere together, might have been a majority even of the people collective.

In the time of the second Punic war ‖, the balance of power in Carthage was got on the side of the people, and this to a degree, that some authors reckon the government to have been then among them a *dominatio plebis*, or *tyranny of the Commons*; which it seems they were at all times apt to fall into, and was at last among the causes that ruined their state: and the frequent murders of their generals, which Diodorus ** tells us was grown to an established custom among them, may be another instance, that tyranny is not confined to numbers.

I shall mention but one example more among a great number, that might be produced. It is related by the author last cited *. The orators of the people at Argos (whether you will style them,

† Memorab. lib. 3.

‖ Polyb. frag. lib. 6.

** Lib. 20.

* Lib. 15.

in modern phrase, *great speakers of the house*; or only, in general, representatives of the people collective) stirred up the commons against the nobles, of whom 1600 were murdered at once; and, at last, the orators themselves, because they left off their accusations, or, to speak intelligibly, because they *withdrew their impeachments*; having, it seems, raised a spirit they were not able to lay. And this last circumstance, as cases have lately stood, may perhaps be worth noting.

From what hath been already advanced, several conclusions may be drawn:

1st, That a mixed government partaking of the known forms received in the schools is by no means of Gothic invention, but hath place in nature and reason, seems very well to agree with the sentiments of most legislators, and to have been followed in most states, whether they have appeared under the name of monarchies, aristocracies, or democracies: for not to mention the several republics of this composition in Gaul and Germany, described by Cæsar and Tacitus, Polybius tells us, the best government is that which consists of three forms, *regno, optimatum, et populi imperio* †; which may be fairly translated, the *King, Lords, and Commons*. Such was that of Sparta, in its primitive institution by Lycurgus; who, observing the corruptions and depravations to which every one of these was subject, compounded his scheme out of all; so that it was made up of *reges, seniores, et populus*. Such also was the state of Rome under its consuls: and the author tells us, that the Romans fell upon this model purely by chance, (which I take to have been nature and common reason), but the Spartans by thought and design. And such at Carthage was the *summa reipublicæ* ‡, or power in the last resort;

† Fragm. lib. 6.

‡ Idem. *ibid.*

for they had their kings called *suffetes*, and a senate which had the power of *nobles*, and the people had a share established too.

2dly, It will follow, that those reasoners who employ so much of their zeal, their wit, and their leisure for the upholding the balance of power in Christendom, at the same time that by their practices they are endeavouring to destroy it at home, are not such mighty patriots, or so much in the true interest of their country, as they would affect to be thought; but seem to be employed like a man, who pulls down with his right hand what he has been building with his left.

3dly, This makes appear the error of those who think it an uncontrollable maxim, that power is always safer lodged in many hands than in one: for if these many hands be made up only from one of the three divisions before mentioned, it is plain from those examples already produced, and easy to be paralleled in other ages and countries, that they are as capable of enslaving the nation, and of acting all manner of tyranny and oppression, as it is possible for a single person to be, though we should suppose their number not only to be of four or five hundred, but above three thousand.

Again, It is manifest from what has been said, that, in order to preserve the balance in a mixed state, the limits of power deposited with each party ought to be ascertained, and generally known. The defect of this is the cause that introduces those strugglings in a state about *prerogative* and *liberty*, about incroachments of the *few* upon the rights of the *many*, and of the *many* upon the privileges of the *few*, which ever did, and ever will conclude in a tyranny; first either of the *few*, or the *many*, but at last infallibly of a single person: for, which ever of the three divisions in a state is upon the scramble for more power than its own, (as one or other of them generally is), unless due care be taken

ken by the other two, upon every new question that arises, they will be sure to decide in favour of themselves, talk much of inherent right; they will nourish up a dormant power, and reserve privileges *in petto*, to exert upon occasions, to serve expedients, and to urge upon necessities; they will make large demands, and scanty concessions, ever coming off considerable gainers: thus at length the balance is broke, and tyranny let in; from which door of the three, it matters not.

To pretend to a *declarative* right upon any occasion whatsoever, is little less than to make use of the whole power; that is, to declare an opinion to be law, which has always been contested, or perhaps never started at all before such an incident brought it on the stage. Not to consent to the enacting of such a law, which has no view besides the general good, unless another law shall at the same time pass, with no other view but that of advancing the power of one party alone; what is this but to claim a positive voice, as well as a negative? To pretend that great changes * and alienations of property have created new and great dependencies, and consequently new additions of power, as some reasoners have done, is a most dangerous tenet. If dominion must follow property, let it follow in the same place; for change in property through the bulk of a nation makes slow marches, and its due power always attends it. To conclude, that whatever attempt is begun by an assembly, ought to be pursued to the end, without regard to the greatest incidents that may happen to alter the case; to count it mean, and below the *dignity of a house*, to

* This seems to allude to a practice of the house of Commons called *Tacking*: when they suspected that a favourite bill would be rejected, they tacked it to a money-bill; and as it was not possible to proceed without the supply, and as it became necessary to reject or receive both the bills thus tacked together, this expedient perfectly answered its purpose.

quit a prosecution; to resolve upon a conclusion before it is possible to be apprised of the premises: to act thus, I say, is to affect not only absolute power, but infallibility too. Yet such unaccountable proceedings as these have popular assemblies engaged in, for want of fixing the due limits of *power* and *privilege*.

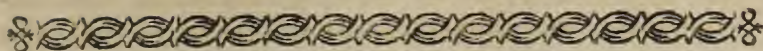
Great changes may indeed be made in a government, yet the form continue, and the balance be held: but large intervals of time must pass between every such innovation, enough to melt down and make it of a piece with the constitution. Such, we are told, were the proceedings of Solon, when he modelled anew the Athenian commonwealth: and what convulsions in our own, as well as other states, have been bred by a neglect of this rule, is fresh and notorious enough; it is too soon in all conscience to repeat this error again.

Having shewn, that there is a natural balance of power in all free states, and how it hath been divided, sometimes by the people themselves, as in Rome, at others by the institutions of the legislators, as in the several states of Greece and Sicily; the next thing is to examine, what methods have been taken to break or overthrow this balance, which every one of the three parties hath continually endeavoured, as opportunities have served; as might appear from the stories of most ages and countries: for absolute power in a particular state, is of the same nature with universal monarchy in several states adjoining to each other. So endless and exorbitant are the desires of men, whether considered in their persons or their states, that they will grasp at all, and can form no scheme of perfect happiness with less. Ever since men have been united into governments, the hopes and endeavours after universal monarchy have been bandied among them, from the reign of Ninus to this of the Most Christian King; in which pursuits commonwealths

have had their share as well as monarchs : so the Athenians, the Spartans, the Thebans, and the Achaians, did several times aim at the universal monarchy of Greece : so the commonwealths of Carthage and Rome affected the universal monarchy of the then known world. In like manner hath absolute power been pursued by the several parties of each particular state ; wherein single persons have met with most success, though the endeavours of the *few* and the *many* have been frequent enough : yet, being neither so uniform in their designs, nor so direct in their views, they neither could manage nor maintain the power they had got ; but were ever deceived by the popularity and ambition of some single person. So that it will be always a wrong step in policy, for the nobles or commons to carry their endeavours after power so far, as to overthrow the balance ; and it would be enough to damp their warmth in such pursuits, if they could once reflect, that in such a course they will be sure to run upon the very rock that they meant to avoid ; which, I suppose, they would have us think, is the tyranny of a single person.

Many examples might be produced of the endeavours of each of these three rivals after absolute power ; but I shall suit my discourse to the time I am writing in, and relate only such dissensions in Greece and Rome, between the nobles and commons, with the consequences of them, wherein the latter were the aggressors.

I shall begin with Greece, where my observations shall be confined to Athens, though several instances might be brought from other states thereof.



C H A P. II.

Of the dissensions in ATHENS, between the few and the many.

THESEUS is the first, who is recorded with any appearance of truth to have brought the Grecians from a barbarous manner of life, among scattered villages, into cities; and to have established the *popular state* in Athens, assigning to himself the guardianship of the laws and chief command in war. He was forced after some time to leave the Athenians to their own measures upon account of their seditious temper, which ever continued with them, till the final dissolution of their government by the Romans. It seems, the country about Attica was the most barren of any in Greece: through which means it happened, that the natives were never expelled by the fury of invaders, (who thought it not worth a conquest), but continued always Aborigines; and therefore retained through all revolutions a tincture of that turbulent spirit wherewith their government began. This institution of Theseus appears to have been rather a sort of mixed monarchy, than a popular state, and, for aught we know, might continue so during the series of kings till the death of Codrus. From this last prince Solon was said to be descended; who, finding the people engaged in too violent factions of the poor and the rich, and in great confusion thereupon; refusing the monarchy, which was offered him, chose rather to cast the government after another model, wherein he made due provisions for settling the balance of

power, chusing a senate of four hundred, and disposing the magistracies and offices according to mens estates ; leaving to the multitude their votes in electing, and the power of judging certain processes by appeal. This council of four hundred was chosen, one hundred out of each tribe, and seems to have been a body representative of the people ; though the people collective reserved a share of power to themselves. It is a point of history perplexed enough ; but thus much is certain, that the balance of power was provided for ; else Pisistratus, called by authors the tyrant of Athens, could never have governed so peaceably as he did, without changing any of Solon's laws *. These several powers, together with that of the *archon* or chief magistrate, made up the form of government in Athens, at what time it began to appear upon the scene of action and story.

The first great man bred up under this institution was Miltiades, who lived about ninety years after Solon, and is reckoned to have been the first great captain, not only of Athens, but of all Greece. From the time of Miltiades to that of Phocion, who is looked upon as the last famous general of Athens, are about 130 years : After which they were subdued and insulted by Alexander's captains, and continued under several revolutions a small truckling state, of no name or reputation, till they fell with the rest of Greece under the power of the Romans.

During this period from Miltiades to Phocion, I shall trace the conduct of the Athenians with relation to their dissensions between the people and some of their generals ; who, at that time, by their power and credit in the army, in a warlike commonwealth, and often supported by each other, were, with the magistrates and other civil officers,

* Herodot. lib. 1.

a sort of counterpoise to the power of the people, who, since the death of Solon, had already made great incroachments. What these dissensions were, how founded, and what the consequences of them, I shall briefly and impartially relate.

I must here premise, that the nobles in Athens were not at this time a corporate assembly, that I can gather; therefore the resentments of the commons were usually turned against particular persons, and by way of articles of impeachment. Whereas the commons in Rome, and some other states, as will appear in a proper place, though they followed this method upon occasion, yet generally pursued the enlargement of their power by more set quarrels of one entire assembly against another. However, the custom of particular impeachments being not limited to former ages, any more than that of general struggles and dissensions between fixed assemblies of nobles and commons, and the ruin of Greece having been owing to the former, as that of Rome was to the latter, I shall treat on both expressly; that those states who are concerned in either (if at least there be any such now in the world), may, by observing the means and issues of former dissensions, learn whether the causes are alike in theirs; and if they find them to be so, may consider whether they ought not justly to apprehend the same effects.

To speak of every particular person impeached by the commons of Athens, within the compass designed, would introduce the history of almost every great man they had among them; I shall therefore take notice only of six, who living in that period of time when Athens was at the height of its glory, as indeed it could not be otherwise while such hands were at the helm, though *impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors*, such as *bribery, arbitrary proceedings, misapplying or embezzling public funds, ill conduct at sea*, and the like, were
honoured

honoured and lamented by their country, as the preservers of it, and have had the veneration of all ages since paid justly to their memories.

Miltiades was one of the Athenian generals against the Persian power, and the famous victory at Marathon was chiefly owing to his valour and conduct. Being sent some time after to reduce the island Paros, he mistook a great fire at a distance for the fleet, and, being nowise a match for them, set sail for Athens; at his arrival he was *impeached* by the commons for treachery, though not able to appear by reason of his wounds, fined 30,000 crowns, and died in prison. Though the consequences of this proceeding upon the affairs of Athens were no other than the untimely loss of so great and good a man, yet I could not forbear relating it.

Their next great man was Aristides*. Besides the mighty service he had done his country in the wars, he was a person of the strictest justice, and best acquainted with the laws, as well as forms of their government, so that he was in a manner chancellor of Athens. This man, upon a slight and false accusation of *favouring arbitrary power*, was banished by *ostracism*; which rendered into modern English, would signify, that they voted *he should be removed from their presence and council for ever*. But, however, they had the wit to recall him, and to that action owed the preservation of their state by his future services. For it must be still confessed in behalf of the Athenian people, that they never conceived themselves perfectly infallible, nor arrived to the heights of *modern assemblies*, to make *obstinacy* confirm what *sudden heat* and *temerity* began. They thought it not below the dignity of an

* Lord Somers. He was the general patron of the *literati*, and the particular friend of Dr. Swift. *Orrery*.

assembly to endeavour at correcting an ill step ; at least to repent, though it often fell out too late.

Themistocles † was at first a commoner himself : It was he that raised the Athenians to their greatness at sea, which he thought to be the true and constant interest of that commonwealth ; and and the famous naval victory over the Persians at Salamis was owing to his conduct. It seems the people observed somewhat of haughtiness in his temper and behaviour, and therefore banished him for five years ; but finding some slight matter of accusation against him, they sent to seize his person, and he hardly escaped to the Persian court ; from whence, if the love of his country had not surmounted its base ingratitude to him, he had many invitations to return at the head of the Persian fleet, and take a terrible revenge ; but he rather chose a voluntary death.

The people of Athens impeached Pericles * for *misapplying the public revenues to his own private use*. He had been a person of great deservings from the republic, was an *admirable speaker*, and and very popular. *His accounts were confused, and he could not then give them up ;* therefore merely to

† Earl of Orford, He had been considered in a manner as Lord High Admiral, the whole affairs of the navy having been committed to his charge. *Orrery*

* Lord Halifax. He had a fine genius for poetry, and had employed his more youthful part of life in that science. He was distinguished by the name of *Mouse Montague*, having ridiculed, jointly with Mr. Prior, Mr. Dryden's famous poem of the Hind and Panther. The parody is drawn from Horace's fable of the city mouse and country mouse. But afterwards, upon Mr. Montague's promotion to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, Prior, with a good-humoured indignation at seeing his friend preferred, and himself neglected, concludes an epistle, written in the year 1693, to Fleetwood Shepherd, Esq; with these three lines.

My friend Charles Mountague's preferr'd,
Nor would I have it long observ'd,
That one *mouse* eats while *his* starv'd.

Orrery.

divert

divert that difficulty, and the consequences of it, he was forced to engage his country in the Peloponnesian war, the longest that ever was known in Greece, and which ended in the utter ruin of Athens.

The same people, having resolved to subdue Sicily, sent a mighty fleet under the command of Nicias, Lyfimachus, and Alcibiades ; the two former, persons of age and experience ; the last, a young man of noble birth, excellent education, and a plentiful fortune. A little before the fleet set sail it seems one night the stone images of Mercury, placed in several parts of the city, were all pared in the face : this action the Athenians interpreted for a design of destroying the popular state ; and Alcibiades, having been formerly noted for the like frolics and excursions, was immediately accused of this. He, whether conscious of his innocence, or assured of the secrecy, offered to come to his trial before he went to his command ; this the Athenians refused. But as soon as he was got to Sicily, they sent for him back, designing to take the advantage, and prosecute him in the absence of his friends, and of the army, where he was very powerful. It seems, he understood the resentments of a popular assembly too well to trust them ; and therefore, instead of returning, escaped to Sparta : where his desires of revenge prevailing over his love for his country, he became its greatest enemy. Mean while the Athenians before Sicily, by the death of one commander, and the superstition, weakness, and perfect ill conduct of the other, were utterly destroyed, the whole fleet taken, and a miserable slaughter made of the army, whereof hardly one ever returned. Some time after this, Alcibiades was recalled upon his own conditions, by the necessities of the people, and made chief commander at sea and land ; but his lieutenant engaging against his positive orders, and being beaten by Lyfander, Alcibiades

Alcibiades was again disgraced, and banished. However, the Athenians having lost all strength and heart since their misfortune at Sicily, and now deprived of the only person that was able to recover their losses, repent of their rashness, and endeavour in vain for his restoration; the Persian lieutenant, to whose protection he fled, making him a sacrifice to the resentments of Lyfander the general of the Lacedemonians, who now reduces all the dominions of the Athenians, takes the city, razes their walls, ruins their works, and changes the form of their government; which though again restored for some time by Thrasybulus, (as their walls were rebuilt by Conon) yet here we must date the fall of the Athenian greatness; the dominion and chief power in Greece from that period to the time of Alexander the Great, which was about fifty years, being divided between the Spartans and Thebans. Though Philip, Alexander's father, (*the Most Christian King* of that age), had indeed some time before begun to break in upon the republics of Greece by conquest or *bribery*; particularly *dealing large money among some popular orators*, by which he brought many of them, as the term of art was then, to Philippize.

In the time of Alexander and his captains, the Athenians were offered an opportunity of recovering their liberty, and being restored to their former state; but the wise turn they thought to give the matter, was by an impeachment and sacrifice of the author, to hinder the success. For, after the destruction of Thebes by Alexander, this prince designing the conquest of Athens, was prevented by Phocion * the Athenian general, then ambassador from that state; who, by his great wisdom and skill at negotiations, diverted Alexander from his design, and restored the Athenians to his favour.

* The Earl of Portland. *Orrery.*

The very same success he had with Antipater after Alexander's death, at which time the government was new regulated by Solon's laws: but Polyperchon, in hatred to Phocion, having, by order of the young King, whose governor he was, restored those whom Phocion had banished, the plot succeeded. Phocion was accused by popular orators, and put to death.

Thus was the most powerful commonwealth of all Greece, after great degeneracies from the institution of Solon, utterly destroyed by that rash, jealous, and inconstant humour of the people, which was never satisfied to see a general either *victorious* or *unfortunate*; such ill judges, as well as rewarders, have *popular assemblies* been, of those who best deserved from them.

Now, the circumstance which makes these examples of more importance, is, that this very power of the people in Athens, claimed so confidently for an *inherent right*, and insisted on as the *undoubted privilege of an Athenian born*, was the rankest incroachment imaginable, and the grossest degeneracy from the form that Solon left them. In short, their government was grown into a *dominatio plebis*, or *tyranny of the people*, who, by degrees, had broke and overthrown the balance, which that legislator had very well fixed and provided for. This appears not only from what has been already said of that lawgiver, but more manifestly from a passage in Diodorus; who tells us †, “ That Antipater, one of Alexander's captains, abrogated the “ popular government (in Athens), and restored “ the power of suffrages and magistracy to such “ only as were worth two thousand drachmas; by “ which means, *says he*, that republic came to be “ [again] administered by the laws of Solon.” By this quotation it is manifest, that great author

† Lib. 18.

looked upon Solon's institution, and a popular government, to be two different things. And as for this restoration by Antipater, it had neither consequence nor continuance worth observing.

I might easily produce many more examples, but these are sufficient : and it may be worth the reader's time to reflect a little on the merits of the cause, as well as of the men, who had been thus dealt with by their country. I shall direct him no farther than by repeating, that Aristides was the most renowned by the people themselves for his exact *justice and knowledge in the law* ; that Themistocles was a most fortunate admiral, and had got a *mighty victory over the great King of Persia's fleet* ; that Pericles was an able *minister of state, an excellent orator, and a man of letters* : and, lastly, that Phocion, besides the success of his arms, was also renowned for his *negotiations abroad, having in an embassy brought the greatest monarch of the world at that time to the terms of an honourable peace, by which his country was preserved.*

I shall conclude my remarks upon Athens with the character given us of that people by Polybius. " About this time, *says he*, the Athenians were governed by two men ; quite sunk in their affairs ; had little or no commerce with the rest of Greece, and were become great reverencers of crowned heads."

For, from the time of Alexander's captains till Greece was subdued by the Romans, to the latter part of which this description of Polybius falls in, Athens never produced one famous man either for councils or arms, or hardly for learning. And indeed it was a dark insipid period thro' all Greece : for except the Achaian league under Aratus and Philopœmen ; and the endeavours of Agis and Cleomenes to restore the state of Sparta, so frequently harassed by tyrannies occasioned by the popular practices of the Ephori, there was very lit-

the kings in Sparta, the archon at Athens, the the suffetes at Carthage, and the consuls in Rome: so that a limited and divided power seems to have been the most ancient and inherent principles of both those people in matters of government. And such did that of Rome continue from the time of Romulus, though with some interruptions, to Julius Cæsar, when it ended in the tyranny of a single person. During which period (not many years longer than from the Norman conquest to our age) the Commons were growing, by degrees, into power and property, gaining ground upon the Patricians, as it were, inch by inch, till at last they quite overturned the balance, leaving all doors open to the practices of popular and ambitious men, who destroyed the wisest republic, and enslaved the noblest people that ever entered upon the stage of the world. By what steps and degrees this was brought to pass, shall be the subject of my present inquiry.

While Rome was governed by kings, the monarchy was altogether elective. Romulus himself, when he had built the city, was declared King by the universal consent of the people, and by augury, which was there understood for divine appointment. Among other divisions he made of the people, one was into Patricians and Plebeians: the former were like the Barons of England some time after the conquest; and the latter are also described to be almost exactly what our Commons were then. For they were dependents upon the Patricians, whom they chose for their patrons and protectors, to answer for their appearance, and defend them in any process: they also supplied their patrons with money, in exchange for their protection. This custom of *patronage*, it seems, was very ancient, and long practised among the Greeks.

Out of these Patricians Romulus chose an hundred to be a *senate*, or *grand council*, for advice and assistance to him in the administration. The senate there-

therefore originally consisted all of *nobles*, and were of themselves a *standing council*, the *people* being only convoked upon such occasions as, by this institution of Romulus, fell into their cognisance: those were to constitute magistrates, to give their votes for making laws, and to advise upon entering on a war. But the two former of these popular privileges were to be confirmed by authority of the senate; and the last was only permitted at the King's pleasure. This was the utmost extent of power pretended to by the Commons in the time of Romulus; all the rest being divided between the King and the senate; the whole agreeing very nearly with the constitution of England for some centuries after the conquest.

After a year's *inter-regnum* from the death of Romulus, the senate, of their own authority, chose a successor, and a stranger, merely upon the fame of his virtue, without asking the consent of the commons; which custom they likewise observed in the two following kings. But in the election of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth King, we first hear mentioned, that it was done *pupuli impetrata venia*; which indeed was but very reasonable for a free people to expect; though I cannot remember in my little reading, by what incidents they were brought to advance so great a step. However it were, this prince, in gratitude to the people by whose consent he was chosen, elected a hundred senators out of the commons, whose number, with former additions, was now amounted to three hundred.

The people having once discovered their own strength, did soon take occasion to exert it, and that by very great degrees. For at this King's death, who was murdered by the sons of a former, being at a loss for a successor, Servius Tullius, a stranger, and of mean extraction, was chosen protector of the kingdom by the *people*, without the consent of the

the senate; at which the nobles being displeased, he wholly applied himself to gratify the commons, and was by them declared and confirmed no longer Protector, but King.

This prince first introduced the custom of giving freedom to servants, so as to become citizens of equal privileges with the rest, which very much contributed to increase the power of the *people*.

Thus in a very few years the commons proceeded so far, as to wrest even the power of chusing a king entirely out of the hands of the nobles; which was so great a leap, and caused such a convulsion and struggle in the state, that the constitution could not bear it; but civil dissensions arose, which immediately were followed by the tyranny of a single person, as this was by the utter subversion of the regal government, and by a settlement upon a new foundation. For the nobles, spited at this indignity done them by the commons, firmly united in a body, deposed this prince by plain force, and chose Tarquin the Proud, who running into all the forms and methods of tyranny, after a cruel reign, was expelled by an universal concurrence of nobles and people, whom the miseries of his reign had reconciled.

When the consular government began, the balance of power between the nobles and plebeians was fixed anew: the two first consuls were nominated by the nobles, and confirmed by the commons; and a law was enacted, that no person should bear any magistracy in Rome, *injussu populi*, that is, *without consent of the commons*.

In such turbulent times as these, many of the poorer citizens had contracted numerous debts either to the richer sort among themselves, or to senators and other nobles; and the case of debtors in Rome for the first four * centuries was, after

* Ab urbe condita; from the building of the city.

the set time for payment, no choice but either to pay or be the creditor's slave. In this juncture the commons leave the city in mutiny and discontent, and will not return but upon condition to be acquitted of all their debts; and moreover, that certain magistrates be chosen yearly, whose business it shall be to defend the commons from injuries. These are called *tribunes* of the people, their persons are held sacred and inviolable, and the people bind themselves by oath never to abrogate the office. By these tribunes, in process of time, the people were grossly imposed on to serve the turns or occasions of revengeful or ambitious men, and to commit such exorbitancies as could not end but in the dissolution of the government.

These tribunes, a year or two after their institution, kindled great dissensions between the nobles and the commons on the account of Coriolanus, a nobleman whom the latter had *impeached*, and the consequences of whose impeachment (if I had not confined myself to Grecian examples for that part of my subject) had like to have been so fatal to their state. And from this time the tribunes began a custom of accusing to the people whatever nobles they pleased, several of whom were banished or put to death in every age.

At this time the Romans were very much engaged in wars with their neighbouring states; but upon the least intervals of peace the quarrels between the nobles and plebeians would revive; and one of the most frequent subjects of their differences was the *conquered lands*, which the commons would fain have divided among the public; but the senate could not be brought to give their consent. For several of the wisest among the nobles began to apprehend the growing power of the people; and therefore knowing what an accession thereof would accrue to them by such an addition of property, used all means to prevent it. For this the Appian family

family was most noted, and thereupon most hated by the commons. One of them having made a speech against this division of lands, was impeached by the people of high treason, and a day appointed for his trial; but disdaining to make his defence, he chose rather the usual Roman remedy of killing himself: after whose death the commons prevailed, and the lands were divided among them.

This point was no sooner gained, but new dissensions began: for the plebeians would fain have a law enacted, to lay all mens rights and privileges upon the same level; and to enlarge the power of every magistrate within his own jurisdiction, as much as that of the consuls. The tribunes also obtained to have their number doubled, which before was five: and the author tells us *, that their insolence and power increased with their number, and the seditions were also doubled with it.

By the beginning of the fourth century from the building of Rome, the tribunes proceeded so far in the name of the commons, as to accuse and fine the consuls themselves, who represented the kingly power. And the senate observing, how in all contentions they were forced to yield to the tribunes and people, thought it their wisest course to give way also to time; therefore a decree was made to send ambassadors to Athens, and to the other Grecian commonwealths planted in that part of Italy called Græcia Major, to make a collection of the best laws; out of which, and some of their own, a new complete body of law was formed, afterwards known by the name of the *laws of the twelve tables*.

To digest these laws into order ten men were chosen, and the administration of all affairs left in their hands; what use they made of it, has been already shewn. It was certainly a great revolution,

* Dionys. Halicar.

produced entirely by the many unjust incroachments of the people; and might have wholly changed the fate of Rome, if the folly and vice of those who were chiefly concerned, could have suffered it to take root.

A few years after, the commons made farther advances on the power of the nobles; demanding among the rest that the consulship, which hitherto had only been disposed to the former, should now lie in common to the pretensions of any Roman whatsoever. This though it failed at present, yet afterwards obtained, and was a mighty step to the ruin of the commonwealth.

What I have hitherto said of Rome, has been chiefly collected out of that exact and diligent writer Dionysius Halicarnassæus, whose history, thro' the injury of time, reaches no farther than to the beginning of the fourth century after the building of Rome. The rest I shall supply from other authors; though I do not think it necessary to deduce this matter any farther so very particularly, as I have hitherto done.

To point at what time the balance of power was most equally held between the *Lords* and *Commons* in Rome, would perhaps admit a controversy. Polybius tells us *, that in the second Punic war the Carthaginians were declining, because the balance was got too much on the side of the people; whereas the Romans were in their greatest vigour by the power remaining in the senate: yet this was between two and three hundred years after the period Dionysius ends with: in which time the commons had made several further acquisitions. This however must be granted, that (till about the middle of the fourth century), when the senate appeared resolute at any time upon exerting their authority, and adhered closely together, they did often carry

* Fragm. lib. 6.

their point. Besides, it is observed by the best authors †, that in all the quarrels and tumults at Rome, from the expulsion of the kings, though the people frequently proceeded to rude contumelious language, and sometimes so far as to pull and hale one another about the forum, yet no blood was ever drawn in any popular commotions, till the time of the Gracchi: however, I am of opinion; that the balance had begun many years before to lean to the popular side. But this default was corrected, partly by the principle just mentioned, of never drawing blood in a tumult; partly by the warlike genius of the people, which in those ages was almost perpetually employed; and partly by their great commanders, who by the credit they had in their armies fell into the scales as a further counterpoise to the growing power of the people. Besides, Polybius, who lived in the time of Scipio Africanus the younger, had the same apprehensions of the continual incroachments made by the commons; and being a person of as great abilities, and as much sagacity, as any of his age, from observing the corruptions, which, he says, had already entered into the Roman constitution, did very nearly foretel what would be the issue of them. His words are very remarkable, and with little addition may be rendered to this purpose. “ That
 “ those abuses and corruptions, which in time de-
 “ stroy a government, are sown along with the
 “ seeds of it, and both grow up together; and
 “ that as rust eats away iron, and worms devour
 “ wood, and both are a sort of plagues born and
 “ bred along with the substance they destroy; so
 “ with every form and scheme of government that
 “ man can invent, some vice or corruption creeps
 “ in with the very institution, which grows up

† Dionys. Halicar. Plutarch, &c.

“ along with, and at last destroys it *.” The same author, in another place †, ventures so far as to guess at the particular fate which would attend the Roman government. He says, its ruin would arise from the popular tumults, which would introduce a *dominatio plebis*, or tyranny of the people; where- in it is certain he had reason, and therefore might have adventured to pursue his conjectures so far, as to the consequences of a popular tyranny, which, as perpetual experience teaches, never fails to be followed by the arbitrary government of a single person.

About the middle of the fourth century from the building of Rome, it was declared lawful for *nobles* and *plebeians* to intermarry; which custom, among many other states, has proved the most effectual means to ruin the former, and raise the latter.

And now the greatest employments in the state were, one after another, by laws forcibly enacted by the *commons*, made free to the people, the consulship itself, the office of censor, that of the quaestors or commissioners of the treasury, the office of prætor or chief justice, the priesthood, and even that of dictator: the senate, after long opposition, yielding merely for present quiet to the continual urging clamours of the *commons*, and of the *tribunes* their advocates. A law was likewise enacted, that the *plebiscita*, or a vote of the *house of commons*, should be of universal obligation; nay, in time the method of enacting laws was wholly inverted; for whereas the senate used of old to confirm the *plebiscita*, the people did at last, as they pleased, confirm or disannul the *senatusconsulta* *.

Appius Claudius brought in a custom of admit-

* Lib. 5.

† Frag. lib. 6.

* Dionys. lib. 2.

ting to the senate the sons of freed men, or of such who had once been slaves ; by which, and succeeding alterations of the like nature, that great council degenerated into a most corrupt and factious body of men, divided against itself ; and its authority became despised.

The century and half following, to the end of the third Punic war, by the destruction of Carthage, was a very busy period at Rome ; the intervals between every war being so short, that the *tribunes* and *people* had hardly leisure or breath to engage in domestic dissensions : however, the little time they could spare, was generally employed the same way. So Terentius Leo, a *tribune*, is recorded to have basely prostituted the privileges of a *Roman* citizen, in perfect spite to the *nobles*. So the great African Scipio, and his brother, after all their mighty services, were impeached by an ungrateful *commons*.

However, the warlike genius of the people, and continual employment they had for it, served to divert this humour from running into a head, till the age of the Gracchi.

These persons entering the scene in the time of a full peace, fell violently upon advancing the power of the people by reducing into practice all those incroachments, which they had been so many years gaining. There were at that time certain *conquered lands* to be divided, beside a *great private estate left by a king* : these the *tribunes*, by procurement of the elder Gracchus, declared by their legislative authority, were not to be disposed of by the *nobles*, but by the *commons* only. The younger brother pursued the same design ; and, besides, obtained a law, that all Italians should vote at elections, as well as the citizens of Rome : in short, the whole endeavours of them both perpetually turned upon retrenching the *nobles* authority in all things, but especially in the matter of *judicature*. And though they

they both lost their lives in those pursuits, yet they traced out such ways as were afterwards followed by Marius, Sylla, Pompey, and Cæsar, to the ruin of the Roman freedom and greatness.

For in the time of Marius, Saturninus a tribune procured a law, that the senate should be bound by oath to agree to whatever the people would enact: and Marius himself, while he was in that office of tribune, is recorded to have, with great industry, used all endeavours for depressing the *nobles*, and raising the people, particularly for cramping the former in their *power of judicature*, which was *their most ancient inherent right*.

Sylla by the same measures became absolute tyrant of Rome: he added three hundred commons to the senate, which perplexed the power of the whole order, and rendered it ineffectual; then flinging off the mask, he abolished the office of tribune, as being only a scaffold to tyranny, whereof he had no further use.

As to Pompey and Cæsar, Plutarch tells us, that their union for pulling the *nobles* (by their credit with the people) was the cause of the civil war, which ended in the tyranny of the latter; both of them in their consulships having used all endeavours and occasions for sinking the authority of the *patricians*, and giving way to all incroachments of the people, wherein they expected best to find their own account.

From this deduction of popular incroachments in Rome, the reader will easily judge how much the balance was fallen upon that side. Indeed by this time the very foundation was removed, and it was a moral impossibility, that the republic could subsist any longer: for the *commons* having usurped the offices of state, and trampled on the senate, there was no government left but *dominatio plebis*. Let us therefore examine how they proceeded in this conjuncture.

I think

I think it is an universal truth, that the people are much more dextrous at pulling down and setting up, than at preserving what is fixed; and they are not fonder of seizing more than their own, than they are of delivering it up again to the *worst bidder*, with their own into the bargain. For although in their corrupt notions of divine worship, they are apt to multiply their gods; yet their earthly devotion is seldom paid to above one idol at a time, of their own creation, whose *oar* they pull with less murmuring and much more skill, than when they *share the leading*, or even *hold the helm*.

The several provinces of the Roman empire were now governed by the great men of their state; those upon the frontiers with powerful armies either for conquest or defence. These governors, upon any designs of revenge or ambition, were sure to meet with a divided power at home, and therefore bent all their thoughts and applications to close in with the people, who were now, by many degrees, the stronger party. Two of the greatest spirits that Rome ever produced, happened to live at the same time, and to be engaged in the same pursuit; and this at a conjuncture the most dangerous for such a contest: These were Pompey and Cæsar, two stars of such a magnitude, that their *conjunctiion* was as likely to be fatal, as their *oppositiion*.

The *tribunes* and people, having now subdued all competitors, began the last game of a prevalent populace, which is that of chusing themselves a *master*; while the noble foresaw, and used all endeavours lest them to prevent it. The people at first made Pompey their admiral, with full power over all the Mediterranean, soon after captain-general of all the Roman forces, and governor of Asia. Pompey, on the other side, restored the office of *tribune*, which Sylla had put down; and in his consulship procured a law for *examining into the miscarriages*

miscarriages of men in office or command, for twenty years past. Many other examples of Pompey's popularity are left us on record, who was a perfect favourite of the people; and designed to be more; but his pretensions grew stale for want of a timely opportunity of introducing them upon the stage. For Cæsar, with his legions in Gaul, was a perpetual check upon his designs; and, in the arts of pleasing the people did soon after get many lengths beyond him. For he tells us himself, that the senate, by a bold effort, having made some severe decrees against his proceedings, and against the tribunes, these all left the city, and went over to his party, and consequently along with them the affections and interests of the people; which is further manifest from the accounts he gives us of the citizens in several towns mutinying against their commanders, and delivering both to his devotion. Besides, Cæsar's public and avowed pretensions for beginning the civil war, were to restore the tribunes and people oppressed (as he pretended) by the *nobles*.

This forced Pompey, against his inclinations, upon the necessity of changing sides, for fear of being forsaken by both; and of closing in with the senate and chief magistrates, by whom he was chosen general against Cæsar.

Thus at length *the senate* (at least the primitive part of them, the *nobles*) under Pompey, and the *commons* under Cæsar, came to a final decision of the long quarrels between them. For, I think, the ambition of private men did by no means begin or occasion this war; though civil dissensions never fail of introducing and spiriting the ambition of private men; who thus become indeed the great instruments for deciding of such quarrels, and at last are sure to seize on the prize. But no man, that sees a flock of vultures hovering over two armies ready to engage, can justly charge the
blood

blood drawn in the battle to them, though the carcases fall to their share. For while the balance of power is equally held, the ambition of private men, whether orators or great commanders, gives neither danger or fear, nor can possibly enslave their country; but that once broken, the divided parties are forced to unite each to its head, under whose conduct or fortune one side is at first victorious, and at last both are slaves. And to put it past dispute, that this entire subversion of the Roman liberty and constitution was altogether owing to those measures, which had broke the balance between the *patricians* and *plebeians*, whereof the ambition of particular men was but an effect and consequence, we need only consider, that when the uncorrupted part of the senate had, by the death of Cæsar, made one great effort to restore their former state and liberty, the success did not answer their hopes, but that whole assembly was so sunk in its authority, that those patriots were forced to fly, and give way to the madness of the people, who, by their own dispositions, stirred up with the harangues of their orators, were now wholly bent upon single and despotic slavery. Else, how could such a profligate as Antony, or a boy of eighteen, like Octavius, ever dare to dream of giving the law to such an empire and people? wherein the latter succeeded, and entailed the vilest tyranny, that heaven in its anger ever inflicted on a corrupt and poisoned people. And this, with so little appearance at Cæsar's death, that when Cicero wrote to Brutus, how he had prevailed by his credit with Octavius to promise him [Brutus] pardon and security for his person, that great Roman received the notice with the utmost indignity, and returned Cicero an answer, yet upon record, full of the highest resentment and contempt for such an offer, and from such a hand.

Here ended all shew or shadow of liberty in Rome. Here was the repository of all the wise contentions and struggles for power between the nobles and commons, lapped up safely in the bosom of a Nero and a Caligula, a Tiberius and a Domitian.

Let us now see from this deduction of particular impeachments, and general dissensions in Greece and Rome, what conclusions may naturally be formed for instruction of any other state, that may haply upon many points labour under the like circumstances.



C H A P. IV.

UPON the subject of *impeachments* we may observe, that the custom of accusing the *nobles* to the *people* either by themselves, or their orators, (now styled an *impeachment in the name of the commons*), hath been very ancient both in Greece and Rome, as well as Carthage; and therefore may seem to be the inherent right of a free people, nay, perhaps it is really so: But then it is to be considered, first, that this custom was peculiar to republics, or such states where the administration lay principally in the hands of the commons, and ever ranged more or less according to their incroachments upon absolute power; having been always looked upon, by the wisest men and best authors of those times, as an effect of licentiousness, and not of liberty; a distinction, which no multitude, either *represented* or *collective*, hath been at any time very nice in observing. However, perhaps this custom in a popular state of impeaching particular men may seem to be nothing else, but the people's

people's chusing upon occasion to exercise their own jurisdiction in person; as if a king of England should sit as chief justice in his court of king's bench; which, they say, in former times, he sometimes did. But in Sparta, which was called a kingly government, though the people were, perfectly free, yet because the administration was in the two kings and the *ephori* with the assistance of the senate, we read of no impeachments by the people; nor was the process against great men, either upon account of ambition or ill conduct, though it reached sometimes to kings themselves, ever formed that way, as I can recollect, but only passed through those hands, where the administration lay. So likewise during the regal government in Rome, though it was instituted a mixed monarchy, and the people made great advances in power, yet I do not remember to have read of one impeachment from the commons against a patrician, until the consular state began, and the people had made great incroachments upon the administration.

Another thing to be considered is, that allowing this right of impeachment to be as inherent as they please, yet, if the commons have been perpetually mistaken in the merits of the causes and the persons, as well as in the consequences of such impeachments upon the peace of the state we cannot conclude less, than that the commons in Greece and Rome (whatever they may be in other states) were by no means qualified either as prosecutors or judges in such matters; and therefore, that it would have been prudent, to have reserved these privileges dormant, never to be produced but upon very great and urging occasions, where the state is in apparent danger, the universal body of the people in clamours against the administration, and no other remedy in view. But for a few popular orators or tribunes, upon the score of "per-

"sonal piques ; *or*, to employ the pride they conceive in seeing themselves at the head of a party ;
 " *or*, as a method for advancement ; *or* moved by
 " certain powerful arguments that could make
 " Demosthenes philipize : " for such men, I say, when the state would of itself gladly be quiet, and hath, besides, affairs of the last importance upon the anvil, to " impeach Miltiades * after a great
 " naval victory, for not pursuing the Persian fleet ;
 " to impeach Aristides, the person most versed among them in the knowledge and practice of
 " their laws, for a blind suspicion of his acting in
 " an arbitrary way (that is, as they expound it, not in concert with the people) : to impeach
 " Pericles, after all his services, for a few inconsiderable accounts ; *or* to impeach Phocion, who
 " had been guilty of no other crime but negotiating a treaty for the peace and security of his
 " country ;" What could the continuance of such proceedings end in, but the utter discouragement of all virtuous actions and persons, and consequently in the ruin of a state ? Therefore the historians of those ages seldom fail to set this matter in all its lights, leaving us the highest and most honourable *ideas* of those persons, who suffered by the persecution of the people, together with the fatal consequences they had, and how the persecutors seldom failed to repent, when it was too late.

These impeachments perpetually falling upon many of the best men both in Greece and Rome, are a cloud of witnesses, and examples enough to discourage men of virtue and abilities from engaging in the service of the public ; and help on the other side to introduce the ambitious, the covetous, the superficial, and the ill-designing ; who are as apt to

* Though in other passages Lord Orford's character is supposed to be drawn under the name of Themistocles, yet he seems to be represented by Miltiades here ; for Themistocles was not impeached at all. See p. 92.

be bold, and forward, and meddling, as the former are to be cautious, and modest, and reserved. This was so well known in Greece, that an eagerness after employments in the state was looked upon by wise men, as the worst title a man could set up; and made Plato say, "That if all men were as good as they ought, the quarrel in a commonwealth would be not as it is now, who *should* be ministers of state, but who *should not* be so." And Socrates * is introduced by Xenophon severely chiding a friend of his for not entering into the public service, when he was every way qualified for it: such a backwardness there was at that time among good men to engage with an usurping people, and a set of *pragmatical ambitious orders*. And Diodorus tells us †, that when the *petalism* was erected at Syracuse, in imitation of the *ostracism* ‡ at Athens, it was so notoriously levelled against all who had either birth or merit to recommend them, that whoever possessed either, withdrew for fear, and would have no concern in public affairs. So that the people themselves were forced to abrogate it for fear of bringing all things into confusion.

There is one thing more to be observed, wherein all the popular impeachments in Greece and Rome seem to have agreed; and that was, a notion they had of being concerned in *point of honour* to condemn whatever person they impeached, however frivolous the articles were, upon which they began,

* Lib. Memorab.

† Lib. 11.

‡ *Ostracism* was a kind of popular sentence to banishment passed against men whose personal influence, from whatever cause, was thought to render them dangerous to the state; the votes were given by writing the name of the person on a shell by the Greeks called *ostrakon*, and casting the shell into an urn.

Petalism was a sentence nearly of the same kind; and as *ostracism* was denominated from the shell on which the name of the suspected party was written, *petalism* took its name from *πτελον*, a leaf, which the Syracusians used for the same purpose.

or however weak the surmises, whereon they were to proceed in their proofs. For, to conceive that the body of the people could be mistaken, was an indignity not to be imagined, till the consequences had convinced them, when it was past remedy. And I look upon this as a fate, to which all popular accusations are subject; though I should think that the saying, *Vox populi, vox Dei*, ought to be understood of the universal bent and current of a people, not of the *bare majority* of a few representatives, which is often procured by *little arts*, and great industry and application; wherein those who engage in the pursuits of malice and revenge, are much more sedulous than such as would prevent them.

From what hath been deduced of the *dissensions* in Rome between the two bodies of patricians and plebeians, several reflections may be made.

First, That when the balance of power is duly fixed in a state, nothing is more dangerous or unwise, than to give way to the *first steps* of popular incroachments; which is usually done either in hopes of procuring ease and quiet from some vexatious clamour, or else *made merchandise, and merely bought and sold*. This is breaking into a constitution to serve a present expedient, or supply a present exigency; the remedy of an empiric, to stifle the present pain, but with certain prospect of sudden and terrible returns. When a child grows easy and content by being humoured; and when a lover becomes satisfied by small compliances, without further pursuits; then expect to find popular assemblies content with small concessions. If there could one single example be brought from the whole compass of history, of any one popular assembly, who, after beginning to contend for power, ever sat down quietly with a certain share; or if one instance could be produced of a popular assembly, that ever knew, or proposed, or declared, what share

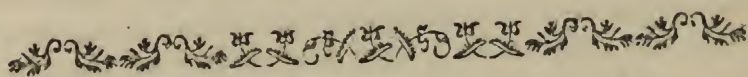
share of power was their due; then might there be some hopes, that it were a matter to be adjusted by reasonings, by conferences, or debates: but since all that is manifestly otherwise, I see no other course to be taken in a settled state, than a steady constant resolution in those to whom the rest of the balance is intrusted, never to give way so far to popular clamours, as to make the least breach in the constitution, through which a million of abuses and incroachments will certainly in time force their way.

Again, from this deduction it will not be difficult to gather and assign certain marks of popular incroachments; by observing of which, those who hold the balance in a state may judge of the degrees, and, by early remedies and application, put a stop to the fatal consequences that would otherwise ensue. What those marks are, hath been at large deduced, and need not be here repeated.

Another consequence is this: That (with all respect for popular assemblies be it spoke) it is hard to recollect one folly, infirmity, or vice, to which a single man is subjected, and from which a body of commons, either collective or represented, can be wholly exempt. For, besides that they are composed of men, with all their infirmities about them, they have also the ill fortune to be generally led and influenced by the very worst among themselves. I mean, *popular orators, tribunes*, or, as they are now stiled, *great speakers, leading men*, and the like. From whence it comes to pass, that in the results we have sometimes found the same spirit of cruelty and revenge, of malice and pride, the same blindness, and obstinacy, and unsteadiness, the same ungovernable rage and anger, the same injustice, sophistry, and fraud, that ever lodged in the breast of any individual.

Again, in all free states the evil to be avoided is *tyranny*, that is to say, the *summa imperii*, or unlimited power solely in the hands of the *one*, the
few,

few, or the *many*. Now, we have shewn, that although most revolutions of government in Greece and Rome began with the tyranny of the people; yet they generally concluded in that of a single person; so that an usurping populace is its own *dupe*; a mere underworker, and a purchaser in trust for some single tyrant, whose state and power they advance to their own ruin, with as blind an instinct, as those worms that die with weaving magnificent habits for beings of a superior nature to their own.



C H A P. V.

SOME reflections upon the late public proceedings among us, and that variety of factions into which we are still so intricately engaged, gave occasion to this discourse. I am not conscious, that I have forced one example, or put it into any other light than it appeared to me long before I had thought of producing it.

I cannot conclude without adding some particular remarks upon the present posture of affairs and dispositions in this kingdom.

The fate of empire is grown a common-place: That all forms of government having been instituted by men, must be mortal, like their authors, and have their periods of duration limited as well as those of private persons. This is a truth of vulgar knowledge and observation; but there are few who turn their thoughts to examine how those diseases in a state are bred, that hasten its end; which would however be a very useful inquiry. For, though we cannot prolong the period of a commonwealth beyond the decree of heaven, or the date

date of its nature, any more than human life beyond the strength of the feminal virtue; yet we may manage a sickly constitution, and preserve a strong one; we may watch and prevent accidents; we may turn off a great blow from without, and purge away an ill humour that is lurking within; and by these, and other such methods, render a state long-lived though not immortal. Yet some physicians have thought, that if it were practicable to keep the several humours of the body in an exact equal balance of each with its opposite, it might be immortal, and so perhaps would a political body, if the balance of power could be always held exactly even. But, I doubt, this is as impossible in practice as the other.

It hath an appearance of fatality, and that the period of a state approacheth, when a concurrence of many circumstances both within and without, unite towards its ruin; while the whole body of the people are either stupidly negligent, or else giving in with all their might to those very practices that are working their destruction. To see whole bodies of men breaking a constitution by the very same errors, that so many have been broke before; to observe opposite parties, who can agree in nothing else, yet firmly united in such measures as must certainly ruin their country; in short, to be encompassed with the greatest dangers from without, to be torn by many virulent factions within; then to be secure and senseless under all this, and to make it the very least of our concern; these, and some others that might be named, appear to me to be the most likely symptoms in a state of a *sickness unto death*.

*Quod procul a nobis flectat fortuna gubernans :
Et ratio potius, quam res persuadeat ipsa.* Lucr.

There are some conjunctures, wherein the death
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OR

or dissolution of government is more lamentable in its consequences, than it would be in others. And, I think, a state can never arrive to its period in a more deplorable *crisis*, than at a time when some *prince in the neighbourhood*, of vast power and ambition, lies hovering like a vulture to devour, or at least dismember its dying carcase; by which means it becomes only a province or acquisition to some mighty monarchy, without hopes of a resurrection.

I know very well, there is a set of sanguine temperers, who deride and ridicule, in the number of fopperies, all such apprehensions as these. They have it ready in their mouths, that the people of England are of a genius and temper never to admit slavery among them; and they are furnished with a great many common places upon that subject. But it seems to me, that such discourfers do reason upon short views, and a very moderate compass of thought. For I think it a great error to count upon the genius of a nation as a standing argument in all ages, since there is hardly a spot of ground in Europe, where the inhabitants have not frequently and entirely changed their temper and genius. Neither can I see any reason, why the genius of a nation should be more fixed in the point of government, than in their morals, their learning, their religion, their common humour and conversation, their diet and their complexion; which do all notoriously vary almost in every age, and may every one of them have great effects upon mens notions of government.

Since the Norman conquest the balance of power in England hath often varied, and sometimes been wholly overturned; the part which the commons had in it, (*that most disputed point*), in its original, progress, and extent, was, by their own confessions, but a very inconsiderable share. Generally speaking, they have been gaining ever since, though
with

with frequent interruptions and slow progress. The abolishing of *villanage*, together with the custom introduced (or permitted) among the nobles of selling their lands in the reign of Henry VII. was a mighty addition to the power of the commons: yet I think a much greater happened in the time of his successor, at the dissolution of the abbeys; for this turned the *clergy* wholly out of the scale, who had so long filled it; and placed the *commons* in their stead; who in a few years became possessed of vast quantities of those and other lands, by grant or purchase. About the middle of Q. Elizabeth's reign, I take the power between the nobles and the commons to have been in more equal balance, than it was ever before or since. But then, or soon after, arose a faction in England, which, under the name of *Puritan*, began to grow popular by molding up their new schemes of religion with republican principles in government; and, gaining upon the *prerogative* as well as the *nobles*, under several denominations, for the space of about sixty years, did at last overthrow the constitution, and, according to the usual course of such revolutions, did introduce a tyranny, first of the people, and then of a single person.

In a short time after, the old government was revived. But the progress of affairs for almost thirty years, under the reigns of two weak princes *, is a subject of a very different nature; when the balance was in danger to be overturned by the hands that held it, which was at last very seasonably prevented by the late revolution. However, as it is the talent of human nature to run from one extreme to another, so in a very few years we have made mighty leaps from prerogative-heights into the depths of popularity, and, I doubt, to the very last degree that our constitution will bear. It

* Charles II. and James II.

were to be wished that the most august assembly of the commons would please to form a *pândeet* of their own power and privileges, to be confirmed by the entire legislative authority, and that in as solemn a manner (if they please) as the *magna charta*. But to fix one foot of their compass wherever they think fit, and extend the other to such terrible lengths, without describing any circumference at all, is to leave us and themselves in a very uncertain state, and in a sort of *rotation*, that the author † of the *Oceana* never dreamed on. I believe the most hardy tribune will not venture to affirm at present, that any just fears of incroachment are given us from the regal power, or the *few*: and is it then impossible to err on the other side? How far must we proceed, or where shall we stop? *The raging of the sea, and the madness of the people* are put together in holy writ; and it is God alone who can say to either, *Hitherto shalt thou pass, and no further*.

The balance of power in a limited state is of such absolute necessity, that Cromwell himself, before he had perfectly confirmed his tyranny, having some occasions for the appearance of a parliament, was forced to create and erect an entire new house of Lords, such as it was, for a counterpoise to the commons. And indeed, considering the vileness of the clay, I have sometimes wondered, that no tribune of that age durst ever venture to ask the *potter*, *What dost thou make?* But it was then about the last act of a popular usurpation, and *fate* or *Cromwell* had already prepared them for that of a single person.

† Mr. James Harrington, sometime in the service of King Charles I. after whose death he drew up and printed a form of popular government, intitled, “The commonwealth of Oceana: He endeavoured likewise to promote this scheme by public discourses at a nightly meeting of several curious gentlemen in New-palace yard, Westminster. This club was called the *Rota*; and Mr. Henry Nevil, one of its members, proposed to the then house of Commons, that a third part of the senate should *vote* out by ballot every year, and be incapable of being elected again for three years to come.

I have been often amazed at the rude, passionate, and mistaken results, which have at certain times fallen from great assemblies, both ancient and modern, and of other countries as well as our own. This gave me the opinion I mentioned a while ago, that public conventions are liable to all the infirmities, follies, and vices of private men. To which if there be any exception, it must be of such assemblies, who act by "universal concert, upon public principles, and for public ends;" such as proceed upon debates without "unbecoming warmth, or influence from particular leaders and inflammers;" such whose members, instead of "canvassing to procure majorities for their private opinions, are ready to comply with general sober results, though contrary to their own sentiments." Whatever assemblies act by these and other methods of the like nature, must be allowed to be exempt from several imperfections, to which particular men are subjected. But I think the source of most mistakes and miscarriages in matters debated by public assemblies, ariseth from the influence of private persons upon great numbers, styled, in common phrase, *leading men and parties*. And therefore when we sometimes meet a *few words* put together, which is called the *vote* or *resolution* of an assembly, and which we cannot possibly reconcile to *prudence* or *public good*, it is most charitable to conjecture, that such a vote has been conceived, and born, and bred in a private brain, afterwards raised and supported by an obsequious party, and then with usual methods confirmed by an *artificial* majority. For let us suppose five hundred men, mixed in point of sense and honesty, as usually assemblies are; and let us suppose these men proposing, debating, resolving, voting, according to the mere natural motions of their own little or much reason and understanding; I do allow, that abundance of indigested and abortive, many pernicious

cious and foolish overtures would arise, and float a few minutes ; but then they would die and disappear. Because this must be said in behalf of human kind, that common sense and plain reason, while men are disengaged from acquired opinions, will ever have some general influence upon their minds ; whereas the species of folly and vice are infinite, and so different in every individual, that they could never procure a majority, if other corruptions did not enter to pervert mens understandings, and misguide their wills.

To describe how parties are bred in an assembly, would be a work too difficult at present, and perhaps not altogether safe. *Periculosa plenum opus aleæ.* Whether those who are leaders, usually arrive at that station more by a sort of instinct or secret composition of their nature, or influence of the stars, than by the possession of any great abilities, may be a point of much dispute : but when the leader is once fixed, there will never fail to be followers. And man is so apt to *imitate*, so much of the nature of *sheep, imitatores, servum pecus*, that whoever is so bold to give the first *great leap over the heads of those about him*, though he be the worst of the flock, shall be quickly followed by the rest. Besides, when parties are once formed, the stragglers look so ridiculous, and become so insignificant, that they have no other way, but to run into the herd, which at least will hide and protect them ; and where to be much considered, requires only to be very violent.

But there is one circumstance with relation to parties, which I take to be of all others most pernicious in a state ; and I would be glad any partisan would help me to a tolerable reason, that because Clodius and Curio happen to agree with me in a few singular notions, I must therefore blindly follow them in all : or, to state it at best, that because Bibulus the *party-man* is persuaded that Clodius

Clodius and Curio do really propose the good of their country as their chief end; therefore Bibulus shall be wholly guided and governed by them in the means and measures towards it. Is it enough for Bibulus, and the rest of the herd, to say without further examining, *I am of the side with Clodius, or I vote with Curio*? Are these proper methods to form and make up what they think fit to call the *united wisdom of the nation*? Is it not possible, that upon some occasion Clodius may be bold and insolent, borne away by his passion, malicious, and revengeful? That Curio may be corrupt, and expose to sale his tongue, or his pen? I conceive it far below the dignity both of human nature, and human reason, to be engaged in any party, the most plausible soever, upon such servile conditions.

This influence of *one* upon *many*, which seems to be as great in a people *represented*, as it was of old in the commons *collective*, together with the consequences it hath had upon the legislature, hath given me frequent occasion to reflect upon what Diodorus tells us of one Charondas, a lawgiver to the Sybarites, an ancient people of Italy, who was so averse from all innovation, especially when it was to proceed from particular persons, (and, I suppose, that he might put it out of the power of men, fond of their own notions, to disturb the constitution at their pleasures, by advancing private schemes), that he provided a statute, that whoever proposed any alteration to be made, should step out and do it with a rope about his neck: if the matter proposed were generally approved, then it should pass into a law; if it went in the negative, the proposer to be immediately *hanged*. Great ministers may talk of what projects they please; but I am deceived, if a more effectual one could ever be found for *taking off* (as the present phrase is) those hot, unquiet spirits, who disturb assemblies, and obstruct public affairs, by gratifying their pride,

pride, their malice, their ambition, or their avarice.

Those who in a late reign began the distinction between the *personal* and *politic* capacity, seem to have had reason, if they judged of princes by themselves; for I think, there is hardly to be found through all nature a greater difference between two things, than there is between a representing commoner in the function of his public calling, and the same person when he acts in the common offices of life. Here he allows himself to be upon a level with the rest of mortals: here he follows his own reason, and his own way; and rather affects a singularity in his actions and thoughts, than servilely to copy either from the wisest of his neighbours. In short, here his folly and his wisdom, his reason and his passions, are all of his own growth, not the echo or infusion of other men. But when he is got near the walls of his assembly, he assumes and affects an entire set of very different airs; he conceives himself a being of a superior nature to those *without*, and acting in a sphere, where the vulgar methods for the conduct of human life can be of no use. He is listed in a party, where he neither knows the temper, nor designs, nor perhaps the person of his leader; but whose opinions he follows and maintains with a zeal and faith as violent, as a young scholar does those of a philosopher, whose sect he is taught to profess. He hath neither opinions, nor thoughts, nor actions, nor talk, that he can call his own, but all conveyed to him by his leader, as wind is through an organ. The nourishment he receives, hath been not only *chewed*, but *digested*, before it comes into his mouth. Thus instructed, he follows the *party* right or wrong through all its sentiments, and acquires a courage and stiffness of opinion not at all congenial with him.

This encourages me to hope, that, during the
present

present lucid interval, the members retired to their homes may suspend a while their *acquired* complexions, and taught by the calmness of the scene and the season, reassume the *native* sedateness of their temper. If this should be so, it would be wise in them, as individual and private mortals, to look back a little upon the storms they have *raised* as well as those they have *escaped*: to reflect, that they have been authors of a new and wonderful thing in England, which is, for a house of Commons to lose the universal favour of the numbers they represent; to observe, how those whom they thought fit to persecute for righteousness sake, have been openly caressed by the people; and to remember how themselves sat in fear of their persons from popular rage. Now, if they would know the secret of all this unprecedented proceeding in their *masters*, they must not impute it to their freedom in debate, or declaring their opinions, but to that unparliamentary abuse of *setting individuals upon their shoulders*, who were hated by God and man. For, it seems, the mass of the people, in such conjunctures as this, have opened their eyes, and will not endure to be governed by Clodius and Curio at the head of their Myrmidons, though these be ever so numerous, and composed of their own representatives.

This aversion of the people against the late proceedings of the Commons is an accident, that, if it last a while, might be improved to good uses for setting the balance of power a little more upon an equality, than their late measures seem to promise or admit. This accident may be imputed to two causes: the first is an universal fear and apprehension of the greatness and power of France, whereof the people in general seem to be very much and justly possessed, and therefore cannot but resent to see it, in so critical a juncture, wholly laid aside by their ministers, the Commons. The other cause

is a great love and sense of gratitude in the people towards their present king, grounded upon a long opinion and experience of his merit, as well as concessions to all their reasonable desires; so that it is for some time they have begun to say, and to fetch instances, where he hath in many things been hardly used. How long these humours may last (for passions are momentary, and especially those of a multitude), or what consequences they may produce, a little time will discover. But whenever it comes to pass, that a popular assembly, free from such obstructions, and already possessed of more power, than an equal balance will allow, shall continue to think they have not enough, but by cramping the hand that holds the balance, and by *impeachments* or *dissensions* with the nobles, endeavour still for more; I cannot possibly see, in the common course of things, how the same causes can produce different effects, and consequences among us, from what they did in Greece and Rome.




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The PUBLIC SPIRIT of the WHIGS,  
set forth in their generous encouragement  
of the author of the CRISIS \*.

With some observations on the seasonableness, candor, erudition, and style of that treatise.

[Upon the first publication of this pamphlet, all the Scots Lords then in London went in a body, and complained to QUEEN ANNE of the affront put on them and their nation by the author of this treatise. Whereupon a proclamation was published by her Majesty, offering a reward of 300 l. to discover him. The reason for offering so small a sum was, that the Queen and ministry had no desire to have the author taken into custody.]

I Cannot, without some envy, and a just resentment against the opposite conduct of others, reflect upon that generosity and tenderneſs, where-with the heads and principal members of a struggling

\* It was written in the year 1712, by the consent, if not the encouragement, of the ministers of that æra, in answer to the Crisis, by Sir Richard Steele. *Orrery.*

The noble commentator who appears in another instance to have given an account of the works of his author, from a perusal of no more than a title (a) in the Dublin editions, has been betrayed into mistakes, which, if he had read the piece, he would have escaped. This tract, in the title which his Lordship consulted, is said to have been written in the year 1712: but in that part of it which most deserves the notice of a critic, because it occasioned a complaint in the house of Lords, mention is made of a motion to dissolve the union, which did not happen till 1713. The complaint, which is said in the note to happen upon the *first* publication, was made the 2d of March 1713-14, and the pamphlet, according to the custom of printers, was dated 1714.

(a) See the note on *Voyage to Br obdingnag*, chap. 6, vol. 4.

gling faction treat those who will undertake to hold a pen in their defence. And the behaviour of these patrons is yet the more laudable, because the benefits they confer are almost *gratis*. If any of their labourers can scratch out a pamphlet, they desire no more; there is no question offered about the wit, the style, the argument. Let a pamphlet come out upon demand in a proper juncture, you shall be well and certainly paid; you shall be paid beforehand; every one of the party who is able to read, and can spare a shilling, shall be a subscriber; several thousands of each production shall be sent among their friends through the kingdom; the work shall be reported admirable, sublime, unanswerable; shall serve to raise the sinking clamours, and confirm the scandal of introducing Popery and the Pretender upon the Queen and her ministers.

Among the present writers on that side I can recollect but three of any great distinction, which are the *Flying Post*, Mr. Dunton, and the author of the *Crisis* \*. The first of these seems to have been much sunk in reputation, since the sudden retreat of the only true genuine original author, Mr. Ridpath, who is celebrated by the *Dutch gazeteer* as one of the best pens in England. Mr. Dunton hath been longer and more conversant in books than any of the three, as well as more voluminous in his productions: however, having employed his studies in

In the style and conduct, this is one of the boldest, as well as one of the most masterly tracts that Swift ever wrote. And I cannot help observing, that on whatever topic he employs his pen, the subject which he treats of is always so excellently managed, as to seem to have been the whole study and application of his life: so that he appears the greatest master, through a greater variety of materials, than perhaps have been discussed by any other author. *Orrery*.

\* Mr. Steele was expelled the house of Commons for this pamphlet, at the very same time that the house of Lords was moved against the Dean for the reply.



so great a variety of other subjects, he hath, I think, but lately turned his genius to politics. His famous tract, intitled, *Neck, or nothing*, must be allowed to be the shrewdest piece, and written with the most spirit of any which hath appeared from that side since the change of the ministry: it is indeed a most cutting satire upon the Lord Treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, and I wonder none of our friends ever undertook to answer it. I confess I was at first of the same opinion with several good judges, who, from the style and manner, suppose it to have issued from the sharp pen of the Earl of Nottingham; and I am still apt to think it might receive his Lordship's last hand. The third and principal of this triumvirate is the author of the *Crisis*; who, although he must yield to the *Flying Post* in knowledge of the world, and skill in politics, and to Mr. Dunton in keenness of satire and variety of reading, hath yet other qualities enough to denominate him a writer of a superior class to either; provided he would a little regard the propriety and disposition of his words, consult the grammatical part, and get some information in the subject he intends to handle.

Omitting the generous countenance and encouragement that have been shewn to the persons and productions of the two former authors, I shall here only consider the great favour conferred upon the last. It hath been advertised for several months in the *Englishman*\*, and other papers, that a pamphlet, called *the Crisis*, should be published at a proper time in order to open the eyes of the nation. It was proposed to be printed by subscription, price a shilling. This was a little out of form; because subscriptions are usually begged only for books of great price, and such as are not likely to have a ge-

\* A paper written by the same author, in favour of the preceding administration.

neral sale. Notice was likewise given of what this pamphlet should contain; only an extract from certain acts of parliament relating to the succession, which at least must sink nine pence in the shilling; and leave but three pence for the author's political reflections; so that nothing very wonderful or decisive could be reasonably expected from this performance. But a work was to be done, a hearty writer to be encouraged, and accordingly many thousand copies were bespoke. Neither could this be sufficient; for when we expected to have our bundles delivered us, all was stopt; the friends to the cause sprang a new project; and it was advertised that the Crisis could not appear, till the ladies had shewn their zeal against the pretender, as well as the men: against the pretender in the bloom of his youth, reported to be handsome, and endued with an understanding exactly of a size to please the sex. I should be glad to have seen a printed list of the fair subscribers prefixed to this pamphlet; by which the Chevalier might know, he was so far from *pretending* to a monarchy here, that he could not so much as *pretend* to a mistress.

At the destined period, the first news we hear, is of a huge train of dukes, earls, viscounts, barons, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and others, going to Sam. Buckley's the publisher of the Crisis, to fetch home their cargoes, in order to transmit them by dozens, scores, and hundreds into the several counties, and thereby to prepare the wills and understandings of their friends against the approaching sessions. Ask any of them, whether they have read it? they will answer, No; but they have sent it every where, and it will do a world of good. It is a pamphlet, and a pamphlet, they hear, against the ministry; talks of slavery, France, and the Pretender: they desire no more; it will settle the wavering, confirm the doubtful, instruct the ignorant, inflame the clamorous, although it never be  
once



once looked into. I am told by those who are expert in the trade, that the author and bookseller of this twelve-penny treatise will be greater gainers than from one edition of any folio that hath been published these twenty years. What needy writer would not solicit to work under such masters, who will pay us beforehand, take off as much of our ware as we please at our own rates, and trouble not themselves to examine either before or after they have bought it, whether it be staple or no?

But, in order to illustrate the implicit munificence of these noble patrons, I cannot take a more effectual method than by examining the production itself; by which we shall easily find that it was never intended, further than from the noise, the bulk, and the title of *Crisis*, to do any service to the factious cause. The entire piece consists of a title-page, a dedication to the clergy, a preface, an extract from certain acts of parliament, and about ten pages of dry reflections on the proceedings of the Queen and her servants; which his coadjutors, the Earl of Nottingham, Mr. Dunton, and the Flying Post, had long ago set before us in a much clearer light.

In Popish countries, when some imposter cries out, *A miracle! a miracle!* it is not done with a hope or intention of converting heretics, but confirming the deluded vulgar in their errors: and so the cry goes round without examining into the cheat. Thus the Whigs among us give about the cry, *A pamphlet! a pamphlet! The Crisis! the Crisis!* not with a view of convincing their adversaries, but to raise the spirits of their friends, recall their stragglers, and unite their numbers by sound and impudence; as bees assemble and cling together by the noise of brass.

That no other effect could be imagined or hoped for by the publication of this timely treatise, will be manifest from some obvious reflections upon the  
several

several parts of it ; wherein the follies, the falsehoods, or the absurdities, appear so frequent, that they may boldly contend for number with the lines.

When the hawker holds this pamphlet towards you, the first words you perceive are, *The Crisis* ; or, *A Discourse*, &c. The interpreter of Suidas gives four translations of the word *Crisis* ; any of which may be as properly applied to this author's letter to the bailiff of Stockbridge \*. Next, what he calls a *discourse* consists only of two pages, prefixed to twenty-two more, which contain extracts from acts of parliament ; for as to the twelve last pages, they are provided for by themselves in the title, under the name of *Some seasonable remarks on the danger of a Popish successor*. Another circumstance worthy of our information in the title-page, is, that the crown hath been settled by *previous acts*. I never heard of any act of parliament that was not previous to what it enacted, unless those two, by which the Earl of Strafford and Sir John Fenwick lost their heads, may pass for exceptions. *A discourse, representing from the most authentic records, &c.* He hath borrowed this expression from some writer who probably understood the words ; but this gentleman hath altogether misapplied them ; and, under favour, he is wholly mistaken ; for a heap of extracts from several acts of parliament cannot be called a discourse ; neither do I believe he copied them from the most authentic records, which, as I take it, are lodged in the Tower, but out of some common printed copy. I grant there is nothing material in all this, further than to shew the generosity of our adversaries in encouraging a writer,

\* Steele addressed a letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge, who appears to have been returning officer for this borough, which Steele represented in parliament.



who cannot furnish out so much as a title-page with propriety or common sense.

Next follows the dedication to the clergy of the church of England, wherein the modesty and the meaning of the first paragraphs are hardly to be matched. He tells them, he hath made a "comment upon the acts of settlement, *which he lays* before them, and conjures them to recommend " in their writings and discourses to their fellow-subjects: *and he doth all this*, out of a just defence to their great power and influence." This is the right Whig scheme of directing the clergy what to preach. The Archbishop of Canterbury's jurisdiction extends no farther than over his own province; but the author of the Crisis constitutes himself vicar-general over the whole clergy of the church of England. The bishops in their letters or speeches to their own clergy proceed no farther than to *exhortation*; but this writer *conjures* the whole clergy of the church to *recommend his comment upon the laws of the land, in their writings and discourses*. I would fain know, who made him a *commentator upon the laws of the land*; after which it will be time enough to ask him, by what authority he directs the clergy to *recommend his comments* from the pulpit or the press?

He tells the clergy, *there are two circumstances which place the minds of the people under their direction*; the first circumstance is their education; the second circumstance is the tenths of our lands. This last, according to the Latin phrase, is spoken *ad invidiam*; for he knows well enough, they have not a twentieth: but if you take it in his own way, the landlord has nine parts in ten of the people's minds under his direction. Upon this rock the author before us is perpetually splitting, as often as he ventures out beyond the narrow bounds of his literature. He hath a confused remembrance of words since he left the university; but hath lost

half their meaning, and puts them together with no regard, except to their cadence ; as I remember a fellow nailed up maps in a gentleman's closet, some sideling, others upside down, the better to adjust them to the pannels.

I am sensible it is of little consequence to their cause, whether this defender of it understands grammar or no ; and if what he would fain say, discovered him to be a wellwisher to reason or truth, I would be ready to make large allowances. But when, with great difficulty, I descry a composition of rancour and falsehood, intermixed with plausible nonsense, I feel a struggle between contempt and indignation at seeing the character of a *censor*, a *guardian*, an *Englishman*, a *commentator* on the *laws*, an *instructor* of the *clergy*, assumed by a child of obscurity without one single qualification to support them.

This writer, who either affects, or is commanded of late to copy after the Bishop of Sarum, hath, out of the pregnancy of his invention, found out an old way of insinuating the grossest reflections under the appearance of admonitions ; and is so judicious a follower of the prelate, that he taxes the clergy for “ inflaming their people with apprehensions of danger to them and their constitution, from men who are innocent of such designs ;” when he must needs confess, the whole *design* of his pamphlet is to *inflame the people with apprehensions of danger* from the present ministry, whom *we* believe to be at least as *innocent men* as the last.

What shall I say to a pamphlet, where the malice and falsehood of every line would require an answer, and where the dulness and absurdities will not deserve one ?

By his pretending to have always maintained an inviolable respect to the clergy, he would insinuate, that those papers among the *Tatlers* and *Spectators*,  
where



where the whole order is abused, were not his own. I will appeal to all who know the flatness of his style, and the barrenness of his invention, whether he doth not grossly prevaricate? was he ever able to walk without leading-strings, or swim without bladders, without being discovered by his hobbling and his sinking? hath he adhered to his character in his paper called the *Englishman*, whereof he is allowed to be the sole author without any competition? what does he think of the letter signed by himself, which relates to Moleworth \*, in whose defence he affronts the whole convocation of Ireland?

It is a wise maxim, That because the clergy are no civil lawyers, they ought not to preach obedience to governors; and therefore they ought not to preach temperance, because they are no physicians. Examine all this author's writings, and then point me out a divine who knoweth less of the constitution of England than he; witness those many egregious blunders in his late papers, where he pretended to dabble in the subject.

But the clergy have, it seems, imbibed their notions of power and obedience, abhorrent from our laws, "from the pompous ideas of imperial greatness, and the submission to absolute emperors." This is gross ignorance, below a school-boy in his Lucius Florus. The Roman history wherein lads are instructed, reacheth little above eight hundred years, and the authors do every where instil republican principles; and from the account of nine in twelve of the first emperors we learn to have a

\* The Right Honourable Robert Moleworth, Esq; one of the privy council, and member of the house of Commons, created a peer by King George I. The lower house of convocation there preferred a complaint against him for disrespectful words, which being represented in England, he was removed from the council: to justify him ag inst this complaint, was the subject of Steele's letter.

detestation against tyranny. The Greeks carry this point yet a great deal higher, which none can be ignorant of, who hath read or heard them quoted. This gave Hobbes the occasion of advancing a position directly contrary, That the youth of England were corrupted in their political principles by reading the histories of Rome and Greece which, having been written under republics, taught the readers to have ill notions of monarchy. In this assertion there was something specious, but that advanced by the Crisis could only issue from the profoundest ignorance.

But would you know his scheme of education for young gentlemen at the university? it is, That they should spend their time in perusing those acts of parliament, whereof his pamphlet is an extract, which, "if it had been done, the kingdom would not be in its present condition, but every member sent into the world thus instructed since the revolution, would have been an advocate for our rights and liberties."

Here now is a project for getting more money by the Crisis; to have it read by tutors in the universities. I thoroughly agree with him, that if our students had been thus employed for twenty years past, "the kingdom had not been in its present condition:" But we have too many of such proficientes already among the young nobility and gentry, who have gathered up their politics from chocolate-houses, and factious clubs, and who, if they had spent their time in hard study at Oxford or Cambridge, we might indeed have said, that the factious part of this kingdom *had not been in its present condition*, or have suffered themselves to be taught, that a few acts of parliament, relating to the succession, are preferable to all other *civil institutions* whatsoever. Neither did I ever before hear, that an act of parliament relating to

one



one particular point could be called a civil institution.

He spends almost a quarto page in telling the clergy, that they will be certainly perjured, if they bring in the pretender, whom they have abjured; and he wisely reminds them, that they have sworn without equivocation or mental reservation; otherwise the clergy might think fit, that as soon as they received the pretender, and turned Papists, they would be free from their oath.

This honest, civil, ingenious gentleman knows in his conscience, that there are not ten clergymen in England, except nonjurors, who do not abhor the thoughts of the pretender reigning over us, much more than himself. But this is the spittle of the Bishop of Sarum \*, which our author licks up, and swallows, and then coughs out again with an addition of his own phlegm. I would fain suppose the body of the clergy were to return an answer by one of their members to these worthy counsellors. I conceive it might be in the following terms.

*My Lord, and Gentleman,*

“ The clergy command me to give you thanks  
 “ for your advice; and if they knew any crimes,  
 “ from which either of you were as free, as they  
 “ are from those which you so earnestly exhort  
 “ them to avoid, they would return your favour  
 “ as near as possible in the same style and manner.  
 “ However, that your advice may not be wholly lost,  
 “ particularly that part of it which relates to the  
 “ pretender, they desire you would apply it to  
 “ more proper persons. Look among your own  
 “ leaders; examine which of them engaged in a  
 “ plot to restore the late K. James, and received  
 “ pardons under his seal; examine which of them

\* Dr. Gilbert Burnet.

“ have been since tampering with his pretended son,  
 “ and, to gratify their ambition, their avarice,  
 “ their malice and revenge, are now willing to re-  
 “ store him at the expence of the religion and li-  
 “ berty of their country. Retire, good my Lord,  
 “ with your pupil, and let us hear no more of these  
 “ hypocritical insinuations, lest the Queen and  
 “ ministers, who have been hitherto content with  
 “ only *disappointing* the lurking villanies of your  
 “ faction, may be at last provoked to *expose*  
 “ them.”

But his respect for the clergy is such, that he  
 doth not insinuate, as if they really had these evil  
 dispositions; he only *insinuates*, that they give *too*  
*much cause* for such *insinuations*.

I will, upon occasion, strip some of his *insinua-*  
*tions* from their generality and solecisms, and drag  
 them into the light. His dedication to the clergy is  
 full of them, because here he endeavours to mold  
 up his rancour and civility together; by which  
 constraint he is obliged to shorten his paragraphs,  
 and to place them in such a light that they obscure  
 one another. Supposing therefore, that I have  
 scraped off his good manners in order to come at  
 his meaning, which lies under; he tells the clergy,  
 that the favour of the QUEEN and her ministers is  
 but a *colour of zeal towards them*; that the people  
 were deluded by a groundless cry of the church's  
 danger at Sacheverel's trial; that the clergy, as they  
 are *men of sense and honour*, ought to preach this  
 truth to their several congregations; and let them  
 know, that the true design of the present men in  
 power in that, and all their proceedings since in fa-  
 vour of the church, was to bring in Popery, France  
 and the Pretender, and to inflave all Europe, con-  
 trary to the *laws of our country*, the *power of the*  
*legislature*, the *faith of nations*, and the *honour of*  
*God*.

I cannot



I cannot see why the clergy, as *men of sense and men of honour*, (for he appeals not to them as men of religion), should not be allowed to know when they are in danger, and be able to guess whence it comes, and, and who are their protectors. The design of their destruction indeed may have been projected in the dark : But when all was ripe, their enemies proceeded to so many overt acts in the face of the nation, that it was obvious to the meanest people, who wanted no other motives to rouse them. On the other side, can this author or the wisest of his faction, assign one single act of the present ministry any way tending towards bringing in the pretender, or to weaken the succession of the house of Hanover ? Observe then the reasonableness of this gentleman's advice : The clergy, the gentry, and the common people had the utmost apprehensions of danger to the church under the late ministry ; yet then it was the greatest impiety to *inflame the people with any such apprehensions*. His danger of a *Popish* successor from any steps of the present ministry is an artificial calumny, raised and spread against the conviction of the inventors, pretended to be believed only by those who abhor the constitution in church and state ; an obdurate faction, who compass heaven and earth to restore themselves upon the ruin of their country ; yet here our author *exhorts the clergy* to preach up this imaginary danger to their people, and disturb the public peace with his strained seditious comments.

But how comes this gracious licence to the clergy from the *Whigs* to concern themselves with politics of any sort, although it be only the glosses and comments of Mr. Steele ? The speeches of the managers at Sacheverel's trial, particularly those of Stanhope, Lechmere, King, Parker \*, and some

\* These persons were created peers by K. George I.

others,

others, seemed to deliver a different doctrine. Nay, this very dedication complains of *some in holy orders, who have made the constitution of their country* (in which and the *Coptic* Mr. Steele is equally skilled) *a very little part of their study, and yet made obedience and government the frequent subjects of their discourses.* This difficulty is easily solved; for by *politics* they mean *obedience*. Mr. Hoadley\*, who is a champion for resistance, was never charged with meddling out of his function; Hugh Peters, and his brethren, in the times of usurpation had full liberty to preach up sedition and rebellion; and so here Mr. Steele issues out his licence to the clergy to preach up the *danger of a popish pretender* in defiance of the Queen and her administration.

Every whiffler in a laced coat, who frequents the chocolate-house, and is able to spell the title of a pamphlet, shall talk of the constitution with as much plausibility as this very solemn writer, and with as good a grace blame the clergy for meddling with politics, which they do not understand. I have known many of these able politicians furnished, before they were of age, with all the necessary topics of their faction, and by the help of about twenty polysyllable capable of maintaining an argument, that would shine in the Crisis; whose author gathered up his little stock from the same schools, and hath written from no other fund.

But after all, it is not clear to me, whether this gentleman addresseth himself to the clergy of England in general, or only to those very few (hardly enough, in case of a change, to supply the mortality of those *self-denying prelates* he celebrates) who

\* Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, created Bishop of Bangor by K. George I. in 1715; translated to Hereford in 1721, to Salisbury in 1723, and to Winchester in 1734.



are in his principles, and among these only such as live in and about London; which probably will reduce the number to about half a dozen at most. I should incline to guess the latter; because he tells them they "are surrounded by a learned, wealthy, " knowing gentry, who know with what firmness, " self-denial, and charity the bishops adhered to " the public cause, and what contumelies those " clergymen have undergone, &c. who adhered to " the cause of truth." By those terms, " the public cause, and the cause of truth," he understands the *cause* of the Whigs, in opposition to the Queen and her servants; therefore by the " learned, wealthy, and knowing gentry," he must understand the *bank* and *East-India Company*, and those other merchants or citizens within the bills of mortality, who have been strenuous against the church and crown, and whose spirit of faction hath lately got the better of their interest. For let him search all the rest of the kingdom, he will find the *surrounded* clergy, and the *surrounding* gentry wholly strangers to the merits of those prelates; and adhering to a very different *cause of truth*, as will soon, I hope, be manifest by a fair appeal to the representatives of both.

It was very unnecessary in this writer to bespeak the treatment of *contempt and derision*, which the clergy are to expect from his faction, whenever they come into power. I believe that venerable body is in very little concern after what manner their most mortal enemies intend to *treat* them, whenever it shall please God for our sins to visit us with so fatal an event; which I hope it will be the united endeavours both of clergy and laity to hinder. It would be some support to this hope, if I could have any opinion of his predicting talent, (which some have ascribed to people of this author's character), where he tells us, that *noise and wrath will not always pass for zeal*. What other instances of zeal hath this gentleman or the rest of

his party been able to produce? If clamour be *noise*, it is but opening our ears to know from what side it comes; and if sedition, scurrility, slander, and calumny be the fruit of *wrath*, read the pamphlets and papers issuing from the *zealots* of that faction, or visit their clubs and coffee-houses, in order to form a judgment of the tree.

When Mr. Steele tells us, "we have religion that wants no support from the enlargement of secular power, but is well supported by the wisdom and piety of its preachers, and its own native truth;" it would be good to know what religion he professeth: for the clergy to whom he speaks will never allow him a member of the church of England. They cannot agree, that the *truth* of the gospel, and the *piety* and *wisdom* of its preachers, are a sufficient *support* in an evil age against infidelity, faction, and vice, without the assistance of *secular power*; unless God would please to confer the gift of miracles on those who wait at the altar. I believe they venture to go a little further, and think, that upon some occasions they want a little *enlargement of assistance from the secular power* against *Atheists, Deists, Socinians*, and other heretics. Every first Sunday in Lent a part of the Liturgy is read to the people, in the preface to which the church declares her wishes for the restoring of that discipline she formerly had, and which, for some years past, hath been more wanted than ever. But of this no more, lest it might *insinuate jealousies between the clergy and laity*; which, the author tells us, is the "policy of vain ambitious men among the former, in hopes to derive from their order a veneration they cannot deserve from their virtue." If this be their method for procuring veneration, it is the most singular that ever was thought on; and the clergy would then indeed have no more to do with politics of any sort than Mr. Steele or his faction will allow them.

Having



Having thus toiled through his dedication, I proceed to consider his preface, which, half consisting of quotation, will be so much the sooner got through. It is a very unfair thing in any writer to employ his *ignorance* and *malice* together; because it gives his answerer double work: it is like the sort of sophistry that the logicians call *two mediums*, which are never allowed in the same syllogism. A writer with a weak head, and a corrupt heart, is an over-match for any single pen; like a hireling jade, dull and vicious, hardly able to stir, yet offering at every turn to kick.

He begins his preface with such an account of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions, as I am confident was never once imagined by any writer upon government, from Plato to Mr. Locke. Give me leave to transcribe his first paragraph. "I never saw an unruly croud of  
" people cool by degrees into temper, but it gave  
" me an idea of the original of power, and the na-  
" ture of civil institutions. One particular man  
" has usually in those cases, from the dignity of  
" his appearance, or other qualities known or ima-  
" gined by the multitude, been received into sud-  
" den favour and authority; the occasion of their  
" difference has been represented to him, and the  
" matter referred to his decision."

I have known a poet, who never was out of England, introduce a fact by way of simile, which could probably no where happen nearer than in the plains of Lybia; and begin with, *So I have seen* \*. Such a fiction, I suppose, may be justified by poetical licence; yet Virgil is much more modest. This paragraph of Mr. Steele's, which he sets down as an observation of his own, is a miserable mangled translation of six verses out of that famous poet, who speaks after this manner: *As when a*

\* See the *Ἱστορίαι*, vol. 5.

*sedition arises in a great multitude, &c. then if they see a wise grave man. &c.* Virgil, who lived but a little after the ruin of the Roman republic, where seditions often happened, and the force of oratory was great among the people, made use of a simile, which Mr. Steele turns into a fact after such a manner, as if he had seen it a hundred times; and builds upon it a system of the origin of government. When the vulgar here in England assemble in a riotous manner, (which is not very frequent of late years), the prince takes a much more effectual way than that of sending orators to appease them: but Mr. Steele imagines such a croud of people as this, where there is no government at all; their *unruliness* quelled, and their passions *cooled* by a particular man, whose great qualities they had known before. Such an assembly must have risen suddenly from the earth, and the *man of authority* dropt from the clouds; for without some previous form of government no such croud did ever yet assemble, or could possibly be acquainted with the merits and dignity of any *particular man* among them. But to pursue his scheme; this man of authority, who *cools* the *croud* by degrees, and to whom they all appeal, must of necessity prove either an open or *clandestine tyrant*. A *clandestine tyrant* I take to be a king of Brentford, who keeps his army in disguise; and whenever he happens either to die naturally, be knocked on the head, or deposed, the people calmly *take further measures and improve upon what was begun under his unlimited power*. All this our author tells us, with extreme propriety, *is what seems reasonable to common sense*; that is, in other words, it seems *reasonable to reason*. This is what he calls *giving an idea of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions*. To which I answer, with great phlegm, that I defy any man alive to shew me, in double the number of lines, although writ by the same author, such a complicated



cated ignorance in history, human nature, or politics, as well as in the ordinary proprieties of thought or of style.

But it seems these profound speculations were only premised to introduce some quotations in favour of *resistance*. What hath *resistance* to do with the succession of the house of Hanover, that the Whig writers should perpetually affect to tag them together? I can conceive nothing else, but that their hatred to the Queen and ministry puts them upon thoughts of introducing the successor by *another* revolution. Are cases of *extreme necessity* to be produced as common maxims, by which we are always to proceed? Should not these gentlemen sometimes inculcate the general rule of obedience, and not always the exception of resistance? since the former hath been the perpetual dictate of all laws both divine and civil, and the latter is still in dispute.

I shall meddle with none of the passages he cites to prove the lawfulness of resisting princes, except that from the present Lord Chancellor's \* speech in defence of Dr. Sacheverel; that "there are extraordinary cases, cases of necessity, which are implied, although not expressed, in the general rule [of obedience]." These words, very clear in themselves, Mr. Steele explains into nonsense; which in any other author I should suspect to have been intended as a reflection upon as great a person as ever filled or adorned that high station: but I am so well acquainted with his pen, that I much more wonder how it can trace out a true quotation than a false comment. To see him treat my Lord Harcourt with so much civility, looks indeed a little

\* Sir Simon Harcourt, who, at the time of Sacheverel's trial, had resigned his place of attorney-general, which he afterwards accepted again; upon the change of the ministry, he was made Lord Keeper, and in 1711 created a baron.

suspicious,

suspicious, and as if he had malice in his heart. He calls his Lordship *a very great man*, and *a great living authority*; places himself in company with Gen. Stanhope and Mr. Hoadley; and, in short, takes the most effectual method in his power of ruining his Lordship in the opinion of every man, who is wise or good. I can only tell my Lord Harcourt for his comfort, that these praises are encumbered with the doctrine of *resistance*, and the true revolution-principles; and provided he will not allow Mr. Steele for his commentator, he may hope to recover the honour of being libelled again, as well as his sovereign and fellow-servants.

We now come to the Crisis; where we meet with two pages by way of introduction to those extracts from acts of parliament, that constitute the body of his pamphlet. This introduction begins with a definition of liberty, and then proceeds in a panegyric upon that great blessing. His panegyric is made up of half a dozen shreds, like a schoolboy's theme, beaten general topics, where any other man alive might wander securely; but this politician, by venturing to vary the good old phrases, and give them a new turn, commits an hundred solecisms and absurdities. The weighty truths, which he endeavours to press upon his reader, are such as these. *That liberty is a very good thing; that without liberty we cannot be free; that health is good, and strength is good, but liberty is better than either; that no man can be happy without the liberty of doing whatever his own mind tells him is best; that men of quality love liberty, and common people love liberty; even women and children love liberty; and you cannot please them better than by letting them do what they please.* Had Mr. Steele contented himself to deliver these and the like maxims in such intelligible terms, I could have found where we agreed and where we differed. But let us hear some of these axioms, as he hath involved them. "We cannot  
" possess



“ possess our souls with pleasure and satisfaction,  
 “ except we preserve in ourselves that inestimable  
 “ blessing, which we call liberty. By liberty I de-  
 “ sire to be understood to mean the happiness of  
 “ mens living, &c.—*The true* life of man con-  
 “ sists in conducting it according to his own just  
 “ sentiments and innocent inclinations—man’s  
 “ being is degraded below that of a free agent,  
 “ when his affections and passions are no longer  
 “ governed by the dictates of his own mind.—  
 “ Without liberty our health (*among other things*)  
 “ may be at the will of a tyrant employed to our  
 “ own ruin and that of our fellow-creatures.” If  
 there be any of these maxims which is not grossly  
 defective in truth, in sense, or in grammar, I will  
 allow them to pass for uncontrollable. By the first,  
 omitting the pedantry of the whole expression,  
 there are not above one or two nations in the  
 world, where any one man can *possess his soul with*  
*pleasure and satisfaction*. In the second, he *desires to*  
*be understood to mean*; that is, he desires to be meant  
 to mean, or to be understood to understand. In  
 the third, *the life of man consists in conducting* his life.  
 In the fourth he affirms, that *mens beings are de-*  
*graded, when their passions are no longer governed by*  
*the dictates of their own minds*; directly contrary to  
 the lessons of all moralists and legislators; who a-  
 gree unanimously, that the passions of men must  
 be under the government of reason and law; nei-  
 ther are laws of any other use than to correct the  
 irregularity of our affections. By the last, *our*  
*health is ruinous to ourselves and other men when a ty-*  
*rant pleases*; which I leave to him to make out.

I cannot sufficiently commend our ancestors for  
 transmitting to us the blessing of liberty; yet hav-  
 ing *laid out their blood and treasure upon the purchase*,  
 I do not see how they *acted parsimoniously*; because  
 I can conceive nothing more generous than that of  
 employing our blood and treasure for the service of  
 others.

others. But I am suddenly struck with the thought, that I have found his meaning; our ancestors acted parsimoniously, because they only spent their own treasure for the the good of their posterity; whereas we squandered away the treasures of our posterity too; but whether they will be thankful, and think it was done for the preservation of their liberty, must be left to themselves for a decision.

I verily believe, although I could not prove it in Westminster-hall before a Lord Chief Justice, that by *enemies to our constitution, and enemies to our present establishment*, Mr. Steele would desire to be understood to mean my Lord Treasurer and the rest of the ministry: by those who are grown supine in proportion to the danger to which our liberty is every day more exposed, I should guess he means the Tories: and by *honest men who ought to look up with a spirit that becomes honesty*, he understands the Whigs. I likewise believe he would take it ill, or think me stupid, if I did not thus expound him. I say then, that, according to this exposition, the four great officers of state, together with the rest of the cabinet council (except the archbishop of Canterbury\*), are *enemies to our establishment, making artful and open attacks upon our constitution, and are now practising indirect arts, and mean subtilties to weaken the security of those acts of parliament for settling the succession in the house of Hanover*. The first and most notorious of these criminals is, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Lord High Treasurer, who is reputed to be chief minister: the second is, James Butler, Duke of Ormond, who commands the army, and designs to employ it in bringing over the pretender: the third is, Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, secretary of state, who must be supposed to hold a constant correspondence at the court of Bar le Duc, as the late Earl of Godolphin

\* Dr. Tennison.



did with that at St. Germain: and to avoid tediousness, Mr. Bromley †, and the rest, are employed in their several districts to the same end. These are the opinions which Mr. Steele and his faction, under the direction of their leaders, are endeavouring, with all their might, to propagate among the people of England concerning the present ministry; with what reservation to the honour, wisdom, or justice of the Queen, I cannot determine; who, by her own free choice, after long experience of their abilities and integrity, and in compliance to the general wishes of her people, called them to her service. Such an accusation against persons in so high trust should require, I think, at least one single overt act to make it good. If there be no other choice of persons fit to serve the crown without danger from the pretender, except among those who are called the Whig party, the Hanover succession is then indeed in a very desperate state: that illustrious family will have almost nine in ten of the kingdom against it, and those principally of the landed interest; which is most to be depended upon in such a nation as ours.

I have now got as far as his extracts, which I shall not be at the pains of comparing with the originals, but suppose he hath gotten them fairly transcribed: I only think, that whoever is patentee for printing acts of parliament may have a very fair action against him for invasion of property: but this is none of my business to inquire into.

After two and twenty pages spent in reciting acts of parliament, "he desires leave to repeat the history and progress of the union;" upon which I have some few things to observe.

This work, he tells us, *was unsuccessfully attempted by several of her Majesty's predecessors*; although

† Speaker of the house of Commons.

I do not remember † it was ever thought on by any except K. James I. and the late K. William. I have read indeed that some small overtures were made by the former of these princes towards an union between the two kingdoms, but rejected with indignation and contempt by the English: and the historian tells us, that how degenerate and corrupt soever the court and parliament then were, they would not give ear to so infamous a proposal. I do not find, that any of the succeeding princes before the revolution ever resumed the design; because it was a project for which there could not possibly be assigned the least reason or necessity; for I defy any mortal to name one single advantage that England could ever expect from such an union.

But towards the end of the late King's reign, upon apprehensions of the want of issue from him or the Princess Anne, a proposition for uniting both kingdoms was begun; because Scotland had not settled their crown upon the house of Hanover, but left themselves at large in hopes to make their advantage; and it was thought highly dangerous to leave that part of the island, inhabited by a poor fierce northern people, at liberty to put themselves under a different king. However, the opposition to this work was so great, that it could not be overcome until some time after her present Majesty came to the crown; when by the weakness or corruption of a certain minister, since dead, an act of parliament was obtained for the Scots, which gave them leave to arm themselves ‡; and so the union became necessary, not for any actual good it could possibly do us, but to avoid a probable evil; and at the same time save an obnoxious minister's head; who was so wise as to take the first opportunity of

† The author's memory failed him a little in this assertion, as one of his answerers observed.

‡ See the Examiner, No XIX. at the end, vol. 2.



procuring a general pardon by act of parliament, because he could not, with so much decency and safety, desire a particular one for himself. These facts are well enough known to the whole of the kingdom. And I remember, discoursing above six years ago with the most considerable \* person of the adverse party, and a great promoter of the union, he frankly owned to me, that this necessity, brought upon us by the wrong management of the Earl of Godolphin, was the only cause of the union.

Therefore I am ready to grant two points to the author of the Crisis : *first*, That the union became necessary for the cause above related ; because it prevented this island from being governed by two kings ; which England would never have suffered ; and it might probably have cost us a war of a year or two to reduce the Scots. *Secondly*, That it would be dangerous to break this union, at least in this juncture, while there is a pretender abroad, who might probably lay hold of such an opportunity. And this made me wonder a little at the spirit of faction last summer among some people, who having been the great promoters of the union, and several of them the principal gainers by it †, could yet proceed so far as to propose in the house of Lords, that it should be dissolved ; while at the same time those peers, who had ever opposed it in the beginning, were then for preserving it, upon the reason I have just assigned, and which the author of the Crisis hath likewise taken notice of.

\* Lord Somers.

† The Duke of Argyle, who zealously promoted the union, the Earl of Mar, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Cockburn, having been deputed on purpose, remonstrated to the Queen against the malt-tax, which they said would probably prompt the Scots to declare the union dissolved. The Earl of Findlater soon after moved the house of Lords, for leave to bring in a bill for dissolving the union. He was seconded by the Earl of Mar, and supported by Lord Eglinton, the Earl of Hay, the Duke of Argyle, and others.

But when he tells us, *the Englishmen ought, in generosity, to be more particularly careful in preserving this union*, he argues like himself. *The late kingdom of Scotland*, saith he, *had as numerous a nobility as England, &c.* They had indeed; and to that we owe one of the great and necessary evils of the union upon the foot it now stands. Their nobility is indeed so numerous, that the whole revenues of their country would be hardly able to maintain them according to the dignity of their titles; and what is infinitely worse, they are never likely to be extinct until the last period of all things; because the greatest part of them descend to heirs general. I imagine a person of quality prevailed on to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune, and her friends arguing she was as good as her husband, because she brought him as numerous a family of relations and servants as she found in his house. Scotland, in the taxes, is obliged to contribute one penny for every forty pence laid upon England; and the representatives they send to parliament are about a thirteenth. Every other Scots peer hath all the privileges of an English one, except that of sitting in parliament, and even precedence before all of the same title that shall be created for the time to come. The pensions and employments possessed by the natives of that country now among us, do amount to more than the whole body of their nobility ever spent at home; and all the money they raise upon the public is hardly sufficient to defray their civil and military lists. I could point out some with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the union, although their whole revenues before that period would have ill maintained a Welsh justice of the peace; and have since gathered more money than ever any Scotsman, who had not travelled, could form an idea of.

I have only one thing more to say upon occasion  
of



of the union-act; which is, that the author of the *Crisis* may be fairly proved, from his own citations, to be guilty of HIGH TREASON. In a paper of his called the *Englishman*, of October 29. there is an advertisement about taking in subscriptions for printing the *Crisis*, where the title is published at length with the following clause, which the author thought fit to drop in the publication; ["and that  
 " no power on earth can bar, alter, or make void  
 " the present settlement of the crown, &c." By Richard Steele.] In his extract of an act of parliament made since the union, it appears to be  
 " high treason for any person, by writing or print-  
 " ing, to maintain and affirm, that the kings or  
 " queens of this realm, with and by the authority  
 " of parliament, are not able to make laws and  
 " statutes of sufficient force and validity to limit  
 " and bind the crown, and the descent, limitation,  
 " inheritance, and government thereof." This act being subsequent to the settlement of the crown, confirmed at the union, it is probable some friend of the author advised him to leave out those *treasonable* words in the printed title-page, which he had before published in the *advertisement*; and accordingly we find, that in the treatise itself he only "of-  
 " fers it to every good subject's consideration, whe-  
 " ther this article of the settlement of the crown is  
 " not as firm as the union itself, and as the settle-  
 " ment of Episcopacy in England, &c." And he thinks the "Scots understood it so, that the suc-  
 " cession to the crown was never to be controvert-  
 " ed."

These I take to be only treasonable insinuations; but the advertisement before-mentioned is actually *high-treason*; for which the author ought to be prosecuted, if that would avail any thing under a jurisdiction, where cursing the QUEEN is not above the penalty of twenty marks.

Nothing is more notorious than that the *Whigs* of  
 late

late years, both in their writings and discourses, have affected, upon all occasions, to allow the legitimacy of the pretender. This makes me a little wonder to see our author labouring to prove the contrary, by producing all the popular chat of those times, and other solid arguments from Fuller's narrative: but it must be supposed, that this gentleman acts by the commands of his superiors, who have thought fit at this juncture to issue out new orders for reasons best known to themselves. I wish they had been more clear in their directions to him upon that weighty point, whether the settlement of the succession in the house of Hanover be alterable or no. I have observed where, in his former pages, he gives it in the negative; but in the turning of a leaf, he hath wholly changed his mind. He tells us, " he wonders there can be found any Briton  
 " weak enough to contend against a power in their  
 " own nation, which is practised in a much greater  
 " degree in other states: and how hard it is, that  
 " Britain should be debarred the privilege of establishing its own security, by relinquishing only  
 " those branches of the royal line, which threaten  
 " it with destruction; whilst other nations never  
 " scruple upon less occasions to go much greater  
 " lengths;" of which he produceth instances in France, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and then adds,  
 " can Great Britain help to advance men to other  
 " thrones, and have no power in limiting its own?  
 " How can a senator, capable of doing honour to  
 " Sir Thomas Hanmer," be guilty of such ridiculous inconsistencies? The author of the " Conduct  
 " of the allies," says he, " hath dared to drop insinuations about altering the succession." The  
 " author of the " Conduct of the allies" writes sense and English; neither of which the author of the Crisis understands. The former thinks it  
 " wrong in point of policy to call in a foreign  
 " power to be guarantee of our succession, because  
 " it



“ it puts it out of the power of our own legislature  
“ to change our succession without the consent of  
“ that prince or state who is guarantee, whatever  
“ necessity may happen in future times.” Now, if  
it be high treason to affirm by writing, that the  
legislature hath no such power; and if Mr. Steele  
thinks it strange, that Britain should be debarred  
this privilege, what could be the crime of putting  
such a case, that in future ages a necessity might  
happen of limiting the succession, as well as it hath  
happened already?

When Mr. Steele “ reflects upon the many so-  
“ lemn, strong barriers (to our succession) of laws  
“ and oaths, &c.” he “ thinks all fear vanisheth  
“ before them.” I think so too, provided the epithet  
*solemn* goes for nothing; because, although I have  
often heard of a *solemn* day, a *solemn* feast, and a  
*solemn* coxcomb, yet I can conceive no idea to my-  
self of a *solemn* barrier. However, be that as it  
will, his *thoughts*, it seems, *will not let him rest, but,*  
*before he is aware, he asks himself several questions;* and  
since he cannot resolve them, I will endeavour to  
give him what satisfaction I am able. The first is,  
*What are the marks of a lasting security?* To which  
I answer, that the signs of it in a kingdom or state  
are, first, good laws; and, secondly, those laws  
well executed: we are pretty well provided with  
the former, but extremely defective in the latter.  
— Secondly, *What are our tempers and our hearts*  
*at home?* If by *ours* he means those of himself and  
his abettors, they are most damnably wicked; im-  
patient for the death of the QUEEN; ready to  
gratify their ambition and revenge by all desperate  
methods; wholly alienate from truth, law, reli-  
gion, mercy, conscience, or honour. — Thirdly,  
*In what hands is power lodged abroad?* To answer  
the question naturally, Louis XIV. is King of  
France, Philip V. (by the counsel and acknowledg-  
ments of the Whigs) is King of Spain, and so on.  
If

If by power he means money; the Duke of Marlborough is thought to have more ready money than all the kings of Christendom together; but by the peculiar disposition of providence it is locked up in a trunk, to which his ambition hath no key; and that is our security. — Fourthly, *Are our unnatural divisions our strength?* I think not; but they are the sign of it, for being *unnatural* they cannot last; and this shews, that *union*, the foundation of all strength, is more agreeable to our nature. — Fifthly, *Is it nothing to us, which of the princes of Europe has the longest sword?* Not much, if we can tie up his hands, or put a strong shield into those of his neighbours; or if our sword be as sharp as his is long; or if it be necessary for him to turn his own sword into a ploughshare; or if such a sword happeneth to be in the hands of an infant, or struggled for by two competitors. — Sixthly, *The powerful hand that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us, may it not in time reach a king out to us too?* If the powerful hand he means be that of France, it may reach out as many kings as it pleaseth; but we will not accept them. Whence does this man get his intelligence? I should think, even his brother Ridpath might furnish him with better. What crowns or kingdoms hath France dealt about? Spain was given by the will of the former King, in consequence of that infamous treaty of partition, the adviser of which will, I hope, never be forgot in England. Sicily was disposed of by her Majesty of Great Britain; so in effect was Sardinia. France indeed once reached out a king to Poland, but the people would not receive him. This question of Mr. Steele's was therefore only put in *terrorem*, without any regard to truth. — Seventhly, *Are there no pretensions to our crown that can ever be revived?* There may, for ought I know, be about a dozen; and those in time may possibly beget a hundred; but we must do as well as we can. Captain Bessus, when



when he had fifty challenges to answer, protested he could not fight above three duels a-day. "If the pretender should fail," says the writer, "the French King has in his quiver a succession of them; the Duchess of Savoy, or her sons, or the Dauphin her grandson." Let me suppose the Chevalier de St. George to be dead; the Duchess of Savoy will then be a *pretender*, and consequently must leave her husband, because his Royal Highness (for Mr. Steele has not yet acknowledged him for a king) is in alliance with her British Majesty; her sons when they grow *pretenders*, must undergo the same fate. But I am at a loss how to dispose of the Dauphin, if he happen to be King of France before the *pretendership* to Britain falls to his share; for I doubt he will never be persuaded to remove out of his own kingdom, only because it is too near England.

But "the Duke of Savoy did, some years ago, put in his claim to the crown of England in right of his wife, and he is a prince of great capacity, in strict alliance with France, and may therefore very well add to our fears of a Popish successor." Is it the fault of the present or of any ministry, that this prince put in his claim? must we give him opium to destroy his *capacity*? or can we prevent his alliance with any prince, who is in peace with her Majesty? Must we send to stab or poison all the *Popish* princes, who have any pretended title to our crown by the proximity of blood? What, in the name of God, can these people drive at! what is it they demand! Suppose the present Dauphin were now a man, and King of France, and next *Popish* heir to the crown of England; is he not excluded by the laws of the land? But what regard will he have to our laws? I answer, Hath not the QUEEN as good a title to the crown of France? and how is she excluded, but by their law against the succession of females, which we are not bound to acknowledge?

knowledge? And is it not in our power to exclude female successors, as well as in theirs? If such a pretence shall prove the cause of a war, what human power can prevent it! But our cause must necessarily be good and righteous; for either the kings of England have been unjustly kept out of the possession of France, or the Dauphin, although nearest of kin, can have no legal title to England. And he must be an ill prince indeed, who will not have the hearts and hands of ninety-nine in an hundred among his subjects against such a *Popish pretender*.

I have been the longer in answering the seventh question, because it led me to consider all he had afterwards to say upon the subject of the *pretender*.

—— Eightly, and lastly, he asks himself, *Whether Popery and Ambition are become tame and quiet neighbours?* In this I can give him no satisfaction, because I never was in that street where they live; nor do I converse with any of their friends; only I find they are persons of a very evil reputation. But I am told for certain, that *Ambition* hath removed her lodging, and lives the very next door to *Faction*, where they keep such a racket, that the whole parish is disturbed, and every night in an uproar.

Thus much in answer to those eight *uneasy questions* put by the author to himself in order to *satisfy every Briton*, and give him an occasion of *taking an impartial view of the affairs of Europe in general, as well as of Great Britain in particular*.

After enumerating the great actions of the *confederate* armies under the command of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, Mr Steele observes, in the bitterness of his soul, that the “ British general, however unaccountable it may be to posterity, was not permitted to enjoy the fruits of his glorious labour.” Ten years *fruits*, it seems, were not sufficient, and yet they were the fruitfulness



iest campaigns that ever any general cropt. However, I cannot but hope, that posterity will not be left in the dark, but some care taken both of her Majesty's glory, and the reputation of those she employs. An impartial historian may tell the world (and the next age will easily believe what it continues to feel), that the avarice and ambition of a few factious insolent subjects had almost destroyed their country, by continuing a ruinous war in conjunction with allies, for whose sakes principally we fought, who refused to bear their just proportion of the charge, and were connived at in their refusal, for private ends: that these factious people treated the best and kindest of sovereigns with insolence, cruelty, and ingratitude (of which he will be able to produce several instances): that they encouraged persons and principles alien from our religion and government in order to strengthen their faction: he will tell the reasons, why the *general* and *first minister* were seduced to be heads of this faction, contrary to the opinions they had always professed. Such an historian will shew many reasons, which made it necessary to remove the general and his friends, who, knowing the bent of the nation was against them, expected to lose their power, when the war was at an end. Particularly, the historian will discover the whole intrigue of the Duke of Marlborough's endeavouring to procure a commission to be *general for life*, \*; wherein justice will be done to a person at that time of high station in the law, who (I mention it to his honour) advised the Duke, when he was consulted upon it, not to accept of such a *commission*. By these and many other instances, which time will bring to light, it may perhaps appear not very unaccountable to posterity, why this great man was dismissed

\* See the Examiner, No XIX. and the subsequent papers, vol. 2.

at last ; but rather why he was dismissed no sooner.

But this is entering into a wide field, I shall therefore leave *posterity* to the information of better historians than the author of the Crisis, or myself ; and go on to inform the present age in some facts, which this great orator and politician thinks fit to misrepresent with the utmost degree either of natural or wilful ignorance. He asserts, that in the Duke of Ormond's campaign, " after a suspension of arms between Great Britain and France, " proclaimed at the head of the armies, the British troops, in the midst of the enemy's garri- " sons, withdrew themselves from their confeder- " rates." The fact is directly otherwise ; for the British troops were most infamously deserted by the confederates, after all that could be urged by the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Strafford to press the confederate generals not to forsake them. The Duke was directed to avoid engaging in any action, until he had further orders, because an account of the King of Spain's renunciation was every day expected : This the Imperialists and Dutch knew well enough ; and therefore proposed to the Duke, in that very juncture, to engage the French, for no other reason but to render desperate all the Queen's measures towards a peace. Was not the certain possession of Dunkirk of equal advantage to the uncertainty of a battle ? A whole campaign under the Duke of Marlborough, with such an acquisition, although at the cost of many thousand lives, and several millions of money, would have been thought very gloriously ended.

Neither, after all, was it a new thing either in the British general or the Dutch deputies to refuse fighting, when they did not approve it. When the Duke of Marlborough was going to invest Bouchain, the deputies of the States pressed him in vain to engage the enemy ; and one of them was so far  
discontented



discontented upon his Grace's refusal, that he presently became a partizan of the peace; yet I do not remember any clamour then raised here against the Duke upon that account. Again, when the French invaded Doway, after the confederates had deserted the Duke of Ormond, Prince Eugene was violently bent upon a battle, and said, they should never have another so good an opportunity; but Monsieur —, a private deputy, rose up, and opposed it so far, that the Prince was forced to desist. Was it then more criminal in the Duke of Ormond to refuse fighting by express command of the Queen, and in order to get possession of Dunkirk, than for the Duke of Marlborough to give the same refusal without any such orders, or any such advantage? or shall a Dutch deputy assume more power than the Queen of Great Britain's general, acting by the immediate commands of his sovereign?

The *Emperor and the empire* (says Mr. Steele, by way of admiration) *continue the war!* Is his Imperial Majesty able to continue it or no? if he be, then Great Britain hath been strangely used for ten years past: then how came it to pass, that of above thirty thousand men in his service in Italy at the time of the battle of Turin, there were not above four thousand paid by himself? if he be not able to continue it, why does he go on? The reasons are clear; because the war only affects the princes of the empire (whom he is willing enough to expose), but not his own dominions. Besides, the Imperial ministers are in daily expectation of the Queen's death, which they hope will give a new turn to affairs, and rekindle the war in Europe upon the old foot; and we know how the ministers of that court publicly assign it for a reason of their obstinacy against peace, that they hope for a sudden revolution in England. In the mean time this appearance of the Emperor's being forsaken by his ally,

ally, will serve to increase the clamour, both here and in Holland, against her Majesty and those she employs.

Mr. Steele says, "there can be no crime in affirming, if it be truth, that the house of Bourbon is at this juncture become more formidable, and bids fairer for an universal monarchy, and to ingross the whole trade of Europe, than it did before the war."

No *crime in affirming it, if it be truth*. I will for once allow his proposition. But if it be false, then I affirm, that whoever advanceth so seditious a falsehood deserves to be hanged. Doth he mean by the house of Bourbon, the two kings of France and Spain? If so, I reject his meaning, which would insinuate, that the interests and designs of both those princes will be the same; whereas they are more opposite than those of any two other monarchs in Christendom. This is the old foolish slander so frequently flung upon the peace, and as frequently refuted. These factious undertakers of the press write with great advantage; they strenuously affirm a thousand falsehoods without fear, wit, conscience, or knowledge; and we, who answer them, must be at the expence of an argument for each; after which, in the very next pamphlet we see the same assertions produced again, without the least notice of what hath been said to disprove them. By the house of Bourbon doth he mean only the French King for the time being: if so, and his assertion be true, then that prince must either deal with the devil, or else the money and blood spent in our ten years victories against him, might as well have continued in the purses and veins of her Majesty's subjects.

But the *particular* assertions of this author are easier detected than his *general* ones; I shall therefore proceed upon examining the former. For instance: I desire him to ask the Dutch, who can best



best inform him, *why they delivered up Traerbach to the Imperialists?* For, as to the Queen, her Majesty was never once consulted in it; whatever his preceptors, the politicians of Button's coffeehouse, may have informed him to the contrary.

Mr. Steele affirms, that "the French have begun the demolition of Dunkirk contemptuously *à leur* arbitrarily their own way." The governor of the town, and those gentlemen intrusted with the inspection of this work, do assure me, that the fact is altogether otherwise; that the method prescribed by those whom her Majesty employs, hath been exactly followed, and that the works are already demolished. I will venture to tell him further, that the demolition was so long deferred in order to remove those difficulties, which the barrier-treaty hath put us under; and the event hath shewn, that it was prudent to proceed no faster, until those difficulties were got over. The *mole* and *harbour* could not be destroyed, until the ships were got out; which, by reason of some profound secrets of state, did not happen until the other day. Who gave him those just suspicions, that the *mole* and *harbour* will never be destroyed? what is it he would now insinuate? that the ministry is bribed to leave the most important part of the work undone; or that the pretender is to invade us from thence; or that the Queen hath entered into a conspiracy with her servants to prevent the good effects of the peace, for no other end, but to lose the affections of her people, and endanger herself.

Instead of any further information, which I could easily give, but which no honest man can want, I venture to affirm, that the *mole* and *harbour* of Dunkirk will, in a short time, be most effectually destroyed; and at the same time I venture to prophesy, that neither Mr. Steele, nor his faction will ever confess they believe it.

After

After all, it is a little hard that the Queen cannot be allowed to demolish this town in whatever manner she pleases to fancy. Mr. Steele must have it done his own way, and is angry the French have pretended to do it theirs; and yet he wrongs them into the bargain. For my own part, I do seriously think the Most Christian King to be a much better friend of her Majesty's than Mr. Steele, or any of his faction. Besides, it is to be considered, that he is a monarch and a relation; and therefore, if I were a privy counsellor, and my advice to be asked, which of those two GENTLEMEN BORN \* should have the direction in the demolition of Dunkirk, I would give it to the former; because I look upon Mr. Steele, in quality of a member of his party, to be much more skilful in *demolishing at home* than *abroad*.

There is a prospect of more danger to the balance of Europe, and to the trade of Britain, from the Emperor over-running Italy, than from France over-running the *empire*; that his Imperial Majesty entertains such thoughts, is visible to the world; And although little can be said to justify many actions of the French King, yet the worst of them have never equalled the Emperor's arbitrary keeping the possession of Milan, directly contrary to his oath, and to the express words of the *golden bull*, which oblige him to deliver up every *fief* that falls, or else they must all, in the course of time, lapse into his own hands.

I was at a loss, who it was that Mr. Steele hinted at some time ago, by *the powerful hand that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us*: I now plainly find he meant no other hand but his own. He hath dealt out the crown of Spain to France; to France he hath given leave to invade the *empire* next spring with two hundred thousand men; and

\* Mr. Steele often styles himself so.



now, at last he deals to France the *Imperial* dignity; and so farewell liberty; Europe will be French. But in order to bring all this about, the capital of Austria, the residence of his Imperial Majesty, must continue to be visited by the plague, of which the Emperor must die, and so the thing is done.

Why should not I venture to deal out one sceptre in my turn, as well as Mr. Steele? I therefore deal out the empire to the Elector of Saxony, upon failure of issue to this emperor at his death; provided the Whigs will prevail on the son to turn Papist to get an empire, as they did upon the father to get a kingdom. Or if this prince be not approved of I deal it out in his stead to the Elector of Bavaria: And in one or the other of these I dare engage to have all Christendom to second me, whatever the spleen, in the shape of politics, may dictate to the author of the Crisis.

The design of Mr. Steele in representing the circumstances of the affairs of Europe is to signify to the world, that all Europe is put in the high road to slavery by the corruption of her Majesty's present ministers; and so he goes on to Portugal; which, "having during the war supplied us with gold, in exchange for our woollen manufactures, hath only at present a suspension of arms for its protection, to last no longer than till the Catalonians are reduced; and then the old pretensions of Spain to Portugal will be revived:" And Portugal, when once enslaved by Spain, falls naturally with the rest of Europe into the gulf of France. In the mean time let us see, what relief a little truth can give this unhappy kingdom. That Portugal hath yet no more than a suspension of arms, they may thank themselves, because they came so late into the treaty; and that they came so late they may thank the Whigs, whose false representations they were so weak to believe. However, the Queen hath voluntarily given them

a guarantee to defend them against Spain, until the peace shall be made; and such terms after the peace are stipulated for them, as the Portuguese themselves are contented with.

Having mentioned the Catalonians, he puts the question, *Who can name the Catalonians without a tear?* That can I; for he hath told so many melancholy stories without one syllable of truth, that he hath blunted the edge of my fears, and I shall not be startled at the worst he can say. What he affirms concerning the Catalonians, is included in the following particulars; first, *that they were drawn into the war by the encouragement of the maritime powers*; by which are understood England and Holland: But he is too good a friend of the Dutch to give them any part of the blame. 2dly, *That they are now abandoned and exposed to the resentment of an enraged prince.* 3dly, *That they always opposed the person and interest of that prince, who is their present King.* Lastly, *that the doom is dreadful of those, who shall, in the sight of God, be esteemed their destroyers.* And if we interpret the insinuation he makes, according to his mind, the destruction of those people must be imputed to the present ministry.

I am sometimes, in charity, disposed to hope, that this writer is not always sensible of the flagrant falsehoods he utters, but is either biased by an inclination to believe the worst, or a want of judgment to chuse his informers. That the Catalonians were drawn into the war by the encouragement of her Majesty, should not in decency have been affirmed until about fifty years hence; when it might be supposed there would be no living witness left to disprove it. It was only upon the assurances of a revolt given by the Prince of Hesse and others, and their invitation, that the Queen was prevailed with to send her forces upon that expedition. When Barcelona was taken by a most

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unexpected accident of a bomb lighting on the magazine, then indeed the Catalonians revolted, having before submitted and sworn allegiance to Philip, as much as any other province of Spain. Upon the peace between that crown and Britain, the Queen, in order to ease the Emperor, and save his troops, stipulated with King Philip for a neutrality in Italy, and that his Imperial Majesty should have liberty to evacuate Catalonia; upon condition of absolute indemnity to the Catalonians, with an entire restitution to their honours, dignities, and estates. As this neutrality was never observed by the Emperor, so he never effectually evacuated Catalonia; for although he sent away the main body, he left behind many officers and private men, who now spirit up and assist those obstinate people to continue in their rebellion. It is true indeed that King Philip did not absolutely *restore* the Catalans to *all* their old privileges, of which they never made other use than as an encouragement to rebel; but admitted them to the same privileges with his subjects of Castile, particularly to the liberty of trading, and having employments in the West-Indies, which they *never enjoyed before*. Besides, the Queen reserved to herself the power of procuring farther immunities for them, wherein the Most Christian King was obliged to second her: For his Catholic Majesty intended no more than to retrench those privileges, under the pretext of which they now rebel, as they had formerly done in favour of France. *How dreadful then must be the doom of those* who hindered these people from submitting to the gentle terms offered them by their prince! and who although they be conscious of their own inability to furnish one single ship for the support of the Catalans, are at this instant spurring them on to their ruin by promises of aid in protection!

Thus much in answer to Mr. Steele's account of  
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the affairs of Europe; from which he deducth the universal monarchy of France, and the danger of I know not how many *Papish successors* to Britain. His political reflections are as good as his facts. "We must observe, *says he*, that the person who "seems to be the most favoured by the French "King in the late treaties, is the Duke of Savoy." Extremely right; for whatever that prince got by the peace, he owes intirely to her Majesty, as a just reward for his having been so firm and useful an ally; neither was France brought with more difficulty to yield any one point than that of allowing the Duke such a barrier as the Queen insisted on.

"He is become the most powerful prince in Italy." I had rather see *him* so than the Emperor. "He is supposed to have entered into a "a secret and strict alliance with the house of Bourbon." This is one of those facts wherein I am most inclined to believe the author, because it is what he must needs be utterly ignorant of: and therefore may possibly be true.

I thought indeed we should be safe from all *Papish successors* as far as Italy, because of the prodigious clutter about sending the pretender thither. But they will never agree where to fix their *longitude*. The Duke of Savoy is the more dangerous for removing to Sicily: He *adds to our fears* for being *too near*. So "whether France conquer "Germany, or be in peace and good understanding with it; *either event* will put us and Holland "at the mercy of France," which hath a quiver full of pretenders at its back, whenever the Chevalier shall die.

This was just the logic of poor Prince Butler, a splenetic madman, whom every body may remember about the town. Prince Pamphilio in Italy employed emissaries to torment Prince Butler here. But what if Prince Pamphilio die? Why then



then he had left in his will, that his heirs and executors torment Prince Butler for ever.

I cannot think it a misfortune what Mr. Steele affirms, that “ treasonable books lately dispersed among us striking apparently at the Hanover succession, have passed almost without observation from the generality of the people : ” Because it seems a certain sign, that the *generality of the people* are well disposed to that illustrious family : But I look upon it as a great evil, to see *sedition books dispersed among us, apparently striking at the Queen and her administration, at the constitution of church and state, and at all religion ; yet passing without observation from the generality of those in power ;* but whether this remissness may be imputed to Whitehall, or Westminster-hall, is other mens business to inquire. Mr. Steele knows in his conscience, that the *queries concerning the pretender* issued from one of his own party. And as for the poor nonjuring clergyman, who was trusted with committing to the press a late book *on the subject of hereditary right*, by a strain of the *summum jus*, he is now, as I am told, with half a score children, starving and rotting among thieves and pick-pockets in the common room of a stinking jail \*. I have never seen either the book or the publisher ; however, I would fain ask one single person † in the world a question ; why he hath so often drank the abdicated King’s health upon his knees ?——But the transition is natural and frequent, and I shall not trouble him for an answer.

It is the hardest case in the world, that Mr. Steele should take up the artificial reports of his own faction, and then put them off upon the world as *additional fears of a Popish successor*. I can assure him, that no good subject of the Queen is under

\* Upon his conviction he was committed to the Marshalsea, and at his sentence, to the Queen’s bench for three years.

† Parker, afterward Lord Chancellor.

the least concern, whether the pretender be converted or no, farther than their wishes, that all men would embrace the true religion. But reporting backwards and forwards upon this point, helps to keep up the noise, and is a topic for Mr. Steele to enlarge himself upon, by shewing how little we can depend on such conversions, by collecting a list of *Popish* cruelties, and repeating after himself and the Bishop of Sarum the dismal effects likely to follow upon the return of that superstition among us.

But as this writer is reported by those who know him to be what the French call *journalier*, his fear and courage operating according to the weather in our uncertain climate; I am apt to believe the two last pages of his *Crisis* were written on a *sun-shine day*. This I guess from the general tenor of them, and particularly from an unwary assertion, which, if he believes as firmly as I do, will at once overthrow all his foreign and domestic "fears of a Popish successor. As divided a people as we are, "those who stand for the house of Hanover are "INFINITELY superior in number, wealth, courage, and all arts military and civil, to those in "the contrary interest; besides which we have the "laws, I say, the laws, on our side. The laws, I say, "the laws." This elegant repetition is, I think, a little out of place; for the stress might better have been laid upon so great a majority of the nation; without which I doubt the laws would be of little weight, although they be very good additional securities. And if what he here asserts be true, as it certainly is, although he assert it, (for I allow even the majority of his own party to be against the pretender), there can be no danger of a Popish successor, except from the unreasonable jealousies of the *best* among that party, and from the malice, the avarice, or ambition of the *worst*; without which Britain would be able to defend her succession against all her enemies both at home and abroad.



broad. Most of the dangers from abroad, which he enumerates as the consequences of this very bad peace made by the Queen, and approved by parliament, must have subsisted under any peace at all; unless, among other projects equally feasible, we could have stipulated to cut the throats of every *Papish* relation to the royal family.

Well, by this author's own confession a number infinitely superior, and the best circumstantiated imaginable, are for the *succession* in the house of Hanover. This *succession* is established, confirmed, and secured by several laws; her Majesty's repeated declarations, and the oaths of all her subjects, engage both her and them to preserve what those laws have settled. This is a security indeed, a *security* adequate at least to the importance of the thing; and yet, according to the Whig scheme, as delivered to us by Mr. Steele and his coadjutors, is altogether insufficient; and the *succession* will be defeated, the pretender brought in, and *popery* established among us, without the farther assistance of this writer and his faction.

And what securities have our adversaries substituted in the place of these? A club of politicians, where Jenny Man presides; a Crisis written by Mr. Steele; a confederacy of knavish stock-jobbers to ruin credit; a report of the Queen's death; an *effigies* of the pretender run twice through the body by a valiant Peer; a speech by the author of the Crisis; and, to sum up all, an unlimited freedom of reviling her Majesty and those she employs.

I have now finished the most disgusting task that ever I undertook. I could with more ease have written *three* dull pamphlets, than remarked upon the falsehoods and absurdities of *one*. But I was quite confounded last Wednesday, when the printer came with another pamphlet in his hand, written by the same author, and intitled, *The Englishman*,  
being

*being the close of the paper so called, &c.* He desired I would read it over, and consider it in a paper by itself; which last I absolutely refused. Upon perusal I found it chiefly an invective against Toby, the ministry, the Examiner, the clergy, the Queen, and the Post-boy; yet at the same time with great justice exclaiming against those who presumed to offer the least word against the heads of that faction whom her Majesty discarded. The author likewise proposeth an *equal division of favour and employments* between the *Whigs* and *Tories*; for if the former can have no part or portion in *David*\*, they desire no longer to be his subjects. He insists, that her Majesty hath exactly followed *Monsieur Tughe's memorial*† against demolishing of *Dunkirk*. He reflects with great satisfaction on the good already done to his country by the *Crisis*. *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, &c.*—He gives us hopes that he will leave off writing, and consult his own quiet and happiness; and concludes with a letter to a friend at court, I suppose by the style of *old friend*, and the like, it must be some body there of his own level; among whom his party have indeed more friends than I could wish. In this letter he asserts, that the present ministers were not educated in the church of England, but are *new converts from Presbytery*. Upon which I can only reflect, how blind the malice of that man must be, who invents a groundless lie in order to defame his superiors, which would be no disgrace if it had been a truth. And he concludes with making three demands, “for the satisfaction of himself, and other male-contents.

\* What portion have we in David?

† “Tughe was deputed by the magistrates of Dunkirk to intercede with the Queen, that she would recall part of her sentence concerning Dunkirk, by causing her thunderbolts to fall only on the martial works, and to spare the moles and dykes, which in their naked condition could be no more than objects of pity.”



“ *First*, the demolition of the harbour of Dunkirk. *Secondly*, that Great Britain and France would heartily join against the exorbitant power of the Duke of Lorrain, and force the pretender from his assylum at Bar le Duc. *Lastly*, that his Electoral Highness of Hanover would be so grateful to signify to all the world the perfect good understanding he hath with the court of England, in as plain terms as her Majesty was pleased to declare she had with that house on her part.”

As to the first of these demands, I will venture to undertake it shall be granted; but then Mr. Steele and his brother *male-contents* must promise to believe the thing is done, after those employed have made their report; or else bring vouchers to disprove it. Upon the second, I cannot tell whether her Majesty will engage in a war against the Duke of Lorrain to *force him to remove the pretender*; but I believe if the parliament should think it necessary to address upon such an occasion, the Queen will move that prince to send him away. His last demand, offered under the title of a *wish*, is of so insolent and seditious a strain, that I care not to touch it. Here he directly chargeth her Majesty with delivering a falsehood to her parliament from the throne; and declares he will not believe her, until the Elector of Hanover himself shall vouch for the truth of what she hath so solemnly affirmed.

I agree with this writer, that it is an idle thing in his antagonists to trouble themselves upon the *articles of his birth, education, or fortune*; for whoever writes at this rate of his sovereign, to whom he owes so many personal obligations, I should never inquire whether he be a GENTLEMAN BORN, but whether he be a HUMAN CREATURE.



The Conduct of the ALLIES, and of the  
LATE MINISTRY, in beginning and carrying on the present war\*.

Written in the year 1712.

*Partem tibi Gallia nostri  
Eripuit; partem duris Hispania bellis:  
Pars jacet Hesperia, totoque exercitus orbe  
Te vincente perit.*

*Odimus accipitrem quia semper vivit in armis.  
Victrix provincia plorat.*

P R E F A C E.

I Cannot sufficiently admire the industry of a sort of men, wholly out of favour with the prince and people, and openly professing a separate interest from the bulk of the landed men, who yet are able to raise at this juncture so great a clamour

\* To this tract and the Examiners, which make vol. 5. of the Irish edition, there is a preface in the name of the publisher, which Lord Orrery ascribes to Swift for no other apparent reason, than to accuse him of praising himself. But, besides the incorrectness of the style, which his Lordship supposes to be affected, there is an assertion, that these papers produced the change in the Queen's ministry, which even in his Lordship's opinion they were written to *defend*, and to which they appear by their date as well as tenor to be *subsequent*; an absurdity of which Swift even in the character of a publisher, cannot be supposed to have been guilty.

against



against a peace, without offering one single reason, but what we find in their *ballads*. I lay it down for a maxim, That no reasonable man, whether *Whig* or *Tory*, (since it is necessary to use those foolish terms), can be of opinion for continuing the war upon the foot it now is, unless he be a gainer by it, or hopes it may occasion some new turn of affairs at home to the advantage of his party; or, lastly, unless he be very ignorant of the kingdom's condition, and by what means we have been reduced to it. Upon the two first cases, where interest is concerned, I have nothing to say; but as to the last, I think it highly necessary that the public should be freely and impartially told what circumstances they are in, after what manner they have been treated by those whom they trusted so many years with the disposal of their blood and treasure, and what the consequences of this management are like to be upon themselves and their posterity.

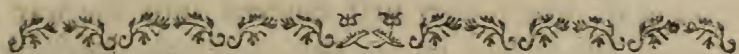
Those who, either by writing or discourse, have undertaken to defend the proceedings of the late ministry in the management of the war, and of the treaty at Gertruydenburg, have spent time in celebrating the conduct and valour of our leaders and their troops, in summing up the victories they have gained, and the towns they have taken. Then they tell us what high articles were insisted on by our ministers and those of the confederates, and what pains both were at in persuading France to accept them. But nothing of this can give the least satisfaction to the just complaints of the kingdom. As to the war, our grievances are, that a greater load has been laid on us than was either just or necessary, or than we have been able to bear; that the grossest impositions have been submitted to for the advancement of private wealth and power, or in order to forward the more dangerous designs of a *faction*, to both which a peace would have put

an end; and that the part of the war which was chiefly our province, which would have been most beneficial to us, and destructive to the enemy, was wholly neglected. As to a peace, we may complain of being deluded by a *mock-treaty*, in which those who negotiated took care to make such demands as they knew were impossible to be complied with; and therefore might securely press every article as if they were in earnest.

These are some of the points I design to treat of in the following discourse; with several others which I thought it necessary at this time for the kingdom to be informed of. I think I am not mistaken in those facts I mention; at least not in any circumstance so material as to weaken the consequences I draw from them.

After ten years wars with perpetual success, to tell us it is yet impossible to have a good peace, is very surprising, and seems so different from what hath ever happened in the world before, that a man of any party may be allowed suspecting, that we have been either ill used, or have not made the most of our victories, and might therefore desire to know where the difficulty lay. Then it is natural to inquire into our present condition; how long we shall be able to go on at this rate; what the consequences may be upon the present and future ages; and whether a peace without that impracticable point, which some people do so much insist on, be really ruinous in itself, or equally so with the continuance of the war.





## The Conduct of the ALLIES, &c \*.

THE motives that may engage a wise prince or state in war, I take to be one or more of these : either to check the overgrown power of some ambitious neighbour ; to recover what hath been unjustly taken from them ; to revenge some injury they have received (which all political casuists allow) ; to assist some ally in a just quarrel, or, lastly to defend themselves when they are invaded. In all these cases the writers upon politics admit a war to be justly undertaken. The last is what hath been usually called *pro aris et focis* ; where no expence or endeavour can be too great, because all we have is at stake, and consequently our utmost force to be exerted ; and the dispute is soon determined either in safety or utter destruction. But in the other four, I believe it will be found, that no monarch or commonwealth did ever engage beyond a certain degree ; never proceeding so far as to exhaust the strength and substance of their country by anticipations and loans, which in a few years must put them in a worse condition, than any they could

\* This was written preparatory to the peace which the ministers were then concerting, and which was afterwards perfected at Utrecht. It begins by reflections on war in general, and then particularly mentions the several civil wars in our kingdom.—Unhappy country ! torn to pieces by her own sons : a wretched mother of vultures, for whom, like Tityus, she produces new intrails only to be devoured.  
*Orrery.*

This tract, and remarks on the barrier-treaty contain the principal facts which the author of John Bull has thrown into allegory : and greatly illustrates that piece, of which indeed it is possible they were the ground-work.

reason-

reasonably apprehend from those evils, for the preventing of which they first entered into the war ; because this would be to run into real infallible ruin, only in hopes to remove what might perhaps but appear so by a probable speculation.

And as a war should be undertaken upon a just and prudent motive, so it is still more obvious, that a prince ought maturely to consider the condition he is in, when he enters on it ; whether his coffers be full, his revenues clear of debts, his people numerous and rich, by a long peace and free trade, not over-pressed with many burdensome taxes ; no violent faction ready to dispute his just prerogative, and thereby weaken his authority at home, and lessen his reputation abroad. For, if the contrary of all this happen to be his case, he will hardly be persuaded to disturb the world's quiet and his own, while there is any other way left of preserving the latter with honour and safety.

Supposing the war to have commenced upon a just motive ; the next thing to be considered is, when a prince ought in prudence to receive the overtures of a peace ; which I take to be, either when the enemy is ready to yield the point originally contended for ; or when that point is found impossible to be ever attained ; or when contending any longer, although with probability of gaining that point at last, would put such a prince and his people in a worse condition than the present loss of it. All which considerations are of much greater force, where a war is managed by an alliance of many confederates, which, in the variety of interests among the several parties, is liable to so many unforeseen accidents.

In a confederate war, it ought to be considered, which party has the deepest share in the quarrel : for although each may have their particular reasons, yet one or two among them will probably be more concerned than the rest, and therefore ought



to bear the greatest part of the burthen, in proportion to their strength. For example; two princes may be competitors for a kingdom, and it will be your interest to take the part of him who will probably allow you good conditions of trade, rather than of the other, who possibly may not. However, that prince whose cause you espouse, although never so vigorously, is the principal in that war, and you, properly speaking, are but a second. Or a commonwealth may lie in danger to be overrun by a powerful neighbour, which in time may produce very bad consequences upon your trade and liberty: it is therefore necessary, as well as prudent, to lend them assistance, and help them to win a strong secure frontier; but as they must in course be the first and greatest sufferers, so in justice they ought to bear the greatest weight. If a house be on fire, it behoves all in the neighbourhood to run with buckets to quench it; but the owner is sure to be undone first; and it is not impossible, that those at next door may escape by a shower from heaven, or the stillness of the weather, or some other favourable accident.

But if an ally, who is not so immediately concerned in the good or ill fortune of the war, be so generous as to contribute more than the principal party, and even more in proportion to his abilities, he ought at least to have his share in what is conquered from the enemy; or, if his romantic disposition transport him so far, as to expect little or nothing from this, he might however hope, that the principals would make it up in dignity and respect; and he would surely think it monstrous to find them intermeddling in his domestic affairs, prescribing what servants he should keep or dismiss, pressing him perpetually with the most unreasonable demands, and at every turn threatening to break the alliance if he will not comply.

From

From these reflections upon war in general, I descend to consider those wars wherein England hath been engaged since the conquest. In the civil wars of the barons, as well as those between the houses of York and Lancaster, great destruction was made of the nobility and gentry; new families raised, and old ones extinguished; but the money spent on both sides was employed and circulated at home; no public debts contracted; and a very few years of peace quickly set all right again.

The like may be affirmed even of that unnatural rebellion against K. Charles I. The usurpers maintained great armies in constant pay, had almost continual war with Spain or Holland; but managing it by their fleets, they increased very much the riches of the kingdom, instead of exhausting them.

Our foreign wars were generally against Scotland or France; the first being in this island carried no money out of the kingdom, and were seldom of long continuance. During our first wars with France we possessed great dominions in that country, where we preserved some footing till the reign of Q. Mary; and although some of our later princes made very chargeable expeditions thither, a subsidy and two or three fifteenths cleared all the debt. Besides, our victories were then of some use as well as glory; for we were so prudent to fight, and so happy to conquer, only for our ourselves.

The Dutch wars in the reign of King Charles II. although begun and carried on under a very corrupt administration, and much to the dishonour of the crown, did indeed keep the King needy and poor by discontinuing or discontenting his parliament, when he most needed their assistance; but neither left any debt upon the nation, nor carried any money out of it.

At the *revolution* a general war broke out in Europe, wherein many princes joined in alliance against



gainst France to check the ambitious designs of that monarch ; and here the Emperor, the Dutch, and England were principals. About this time the custom first began among us of borrowing millions upon funds of interest. It was pretended, that the war could not possibly last above one or two campaigns ; and that the debts contracted might be easily paid in a few years by a gentle tax, without burthening the subject. But the true reason for embracing this expedient was the security of a new prince not firmly settled on the throne. People were tempted to lend by great premiums and large interest ; and it concerned them nearly to preserve that government, which they had trusted with their money. The person \* said to have been author of so detestable a project, lived to see some of its fatal consequences, whereof his grandchildren will not see an end. And this pernicious counsel closed very well with the posture of affairs at that time : for a set of upstarts, who had little or no part in the *revolution*, but valued themselves upon their noise and pretended zeal when the work was over, were got into credit at court, by the merit of becoming undertakers and projectors of loans and funds : these finding, that the gentlemen of estates were not willing to come into their measures, fell upon those new schemes of raising money, in order to create a moneyed interest that might in time vie with the landed, and of which they hoped to be at the head.

The ground of the first war, for ten years after the *revolution*, as to the part we had in it, was to make France acknowledge the late King, and to recover Hudson's bay. But during the whole war the sea was almost entirely neglected, and the greatest part of *six* millions annually employed to enlarge the frontier of the Dutch. For the King was

\* Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum.

a general, but not an admiral ; and although King of England, was a native of Holland.

After ten years fighting to little purpose, after the loss of above an hundred thousand men, and a debt remaining of twenty millions, we at length hearkened to the terms of peace, which was concluded with great advantages to the empire and Holland, but none at all to us ; and clogged soon after with the famous treaty of *partition*, by which Naples, Sicily, and Lorrain were to be added to the French dominions ; or if that crown should think fit to set aside the treaty, upon the Spaniards refusing to accept it, as they declared they would to the several parties at the very time of transacting it, then the French would have pretensions to the whole monarchy. And so it proved in the event ; for the late King of Spain, reckoning it an indignity to have his territories cantoned out into parcels by other princes during his own life, and without his consent, rather chose to bequeath the monarchy entire to a younger son of France ; and this prince was acknowledged for King of Spain both by us and Holland.

It must be granted, that the counsels of entering into this war were violently opposed by the *church-party*, who first advised the late King to acknowledge the Duke of Anjou ; and particularly it is affirmed, that a certain *great person* \*, who was then in the church-interest, told the King in November 1701, that since his Majesty was determined to engage in a war so contrary to his private opinion, he could serve him no longer, and accordingly gave up his employment ; although he happened afterwards to change his mind, when he was to be at the head of the treasury, and have the sole management of affairs at home, while those abroad

\* Earl of Godolphin.



were to be in the hands of *one* \* whose advantage by all sorts of ties he was engaged to promote.

The declarations of war against France and Spain, made by us and Holland, are dated within a few days of each other. In that published by the States they say very truly, that “ they are nearest and “ most exposed to the fire; *that* they are blocked “ up on all sides, and actually attacked by the “ Kings of France and Spain; *that* their declaration is the effect of an urging and pressing necessity:” with other expressions to the same purpose. They “ desire the assistance of all kings “ and princes,” &c. The grounds of their quarrel with France are such as only affect themselves, or at least more immediately than any other prince or state; such as, “ the French refusing to grant “ the tariff promised by the treaty of Ryswick; “ the loading the Dutch inhabitants settled in “ France with excessive duties, contrary to the “ said treaty; the violation of the *partition-treaty* “ by the French accepting the King of Spain’s will, “ and threatening the States if they would not “ comply; the seizing the Spanish Netherlands by “ the French troops, and turning out the Dutch, “ who, by permission of the late King of Spain, “ were in garrison there, by which means that republic was deprived of her barrier, contrary to “ the treaty of *partition*, where it was particularly “ stipulated, that the Spanish Netherlands should “ be left to the Archduke.” They alledged, that “ the French king governed Flanders as his own, “ although under the name of his grandson, and “ sent great numbers of troops thither to fright “ them †; that he had seized the city and citadel “ of Liege; had possessed himself of several places

\* Duke of Marlborough.

† This the author of John Bull calls, “ *frighting the children out of their bread and butter.*”

“ in the archbishopric of Cologne, and maintained  
 “ troops in the county of Wolfenbittel, in order  
 “ to block up the Dutch on all sides : and caused  
 “ his resident to give in a memorial, wherein he  
 “ threatened the States to act against them if they  
 “ refused complying with the contents of that me-  
 “ morial.”

The Queen's declaration of war is grounded up-  
 on the *grand alliance*, as this was upon the unjust  
 usurpations and incroachments of the French king;  
 whereof the instances produced are, “ his keeping  
 “ in possession a great part of the Spanish domi-  
 “ nions, seizing Milan and the Spanish Low-Coun-  
 “ tries, making himself master of Cadiz, &c. ;  
 “ and instead of giving satisfaction in these points,  
 “ his putting an indignity and affront on her Ma-  
 “ jesty and kingdoms, by declaring the pretended  
 “ Prince of Wales King of England,” &c. Which  
 last was the only personal quarrel we had in the  
 war; and even this was positively denied by France,  
 that King being willing to acknowledge her Ma-  
 jesty.

I think it plainly appears by both declarations,  
 that England ought no more to have been a princi-  
 pal in this war than Prussia, or any other power,  
 who came afterwards into that alliance; Holland  
 was first in danger, the French troops being at that  
 time just at the gates of Nimeguen. But the com-  
 plaints made in our declaration do all, except the  
 last, as much or more concern almost every prince  
 in Europe.

For, among the several parties who came first or  
 last into this confederacy, there were few but who  
 in proportion had more to get or to lose, to hope  
 or to fear, from the good or ill success of this war  
 than we. The Dutch took up arms to defend  
 themselves from immediate ruin; and by a success-  
 ful war, they proposed to have a larger extent of  
 country, and a better frontier against France. The  
 Emperor



Emperor hoped to recover the monarchy of Spain, or some part of it, for his younger son, chiefly at the expence of us and Holland. The King of Portugal had received intelligence, that Philip designed to renew the old pretensions of Spain upon that kingdom, which is surrounded by the ocean on all sides, except towards the sea; and could therefore only be defended by *maritime powers*. This, with the advantageous terms offered by King Charles, as well as by us, prevailed with that prince to enter into the alliance. The Duke of Savoy's temptations and fears were yet greater: the main charge of the war on that side was to be supplied by England, and the profit to redound to him. In case Milan should be conquered, it was stipulated, that his Highness should have the duchy of Montserrat belonging to the Duke of Montua, the provinces of Alexandria, and Valencia, and Lomellino, with other lands between the Po and the Tanaro, together with Vigevanasco, or in lieu of it an equivalent out of the province of Novara, adjoining to his own state; besides, whatever else could be taken from France on that side by the confederate forces. Then he was in terrible apprehensions of being surrounded by France, who had so many troops in the Milanese, and might have easily swallowed up his whole duchy.

The rest of the allies came in purely for subsidies, whereof they sunk considerable sums into their own coffers, and refused to send their *contingent* to the Emperor, alledging their troops were already hired by England and Holland.

Some time after the Duke of Anjou's succeeding to the monarchy of Spain, in breach of the *partition-treaty*, the question here in England was, whether the peace should be continued, or a new war begun? Those who were for the former, alledged the debts and difficulties we laboured under; that both we and the Dutch had already acknow-  
ledged

ledged Philip for King of Spain ; that the inclinations of the Spaniards to the house of Austria, and their aversion from that of Bourbon, were not so surely to be reckoned upon as some would pretend ; that we thought it a piece of insolence as well as injustice in the French to offer putting a king upon us, and the Spaniards would conceive we had as little reason to force one upon them : That it was true, the nature and genius of those two people differed very much, and so would probably continue to do, as well under a king of French blood as one of Austrian ; but that if we should engage in a war for dethroning the Duke of Anjou, we should certainly effect what, by the progress and operations of it, we endeavoured to prevent ; I mean an union of interest and affections between the two nations ; for the Spaniards must of necessity call in French troops to their assistance ; this would introduce French counsellors into King Philip's court, and this, by degrees would habituate and reconcile the two nations : That to assist King Charles by English and Dutch forces would render him odious to his new subjects, who have nothing in so great abomination as those whom they hold for *heretics* ; that the French would by this means become masters of the treasures in the Spanish West-Indies ; that in the last war, when Spain, Cologne, and Bavaria were in our alliance, and by a modest computation brought sixty thousand men into the field against the common enemy ; when Flanders, the seat of war, was on our side, and his Majesty, a prince of great valour and conduct, at the head of the whole confederate army ; yet we had no reason to boast of our success ; how then should we be able to oppose France with those powers against us, which would carry sixty thousand men from us to the enemy ; and so make us upon the balance weaker by one hundred and twenty



## THE CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES. 191

ty thousand men at the beginning of this war, than of that in 1688 ?

On the other side, those whose opinion, or some private motives, inclined them to give their advice for entering into a new war, alledged how dangerous it would be for England that Philip should be King of Spain ; that we could have no security for our trade while that kingdom was subject to a prince of the Bourbon family, nor any hopes of preserving the balance of Europe, because the grandfather would in effect be king, while his grandson had but the title, and thereby have a better opportunity than ever of pursuing his design for universal monarchy. These and the like arguments prevailed ; and so without offering at any other remedy, without taking time to consider the consequences, or to reflect on our own condition, we hastily engaged in a war, which hath cost us sixty millions ; and after repeated, as well as unexpected, success in arms, hath put us and our posterity in a worse condition, not only than any of our allies, but even our conquered enemies themselves.

The part we have acted in the conduct of this whole war, with reference to our allies abroad, and to a prevailing faction at home, is what I shall now particularly examine ; where, I presume, it will appear, by plain matters of fact, that no nation was ever so long or so scandalously abused by the folly, the temerity, the corruption, and the ambition of its domestic enemies ; or treated with so much insolence, injustice, and ingratitude by its foreign friends.

This will be manifest by proving the three following points.

*First*, That, against all manner of prudence or common reason, we engaged in this war as principals, when we ought to have acted only as auxiliaries.

*Secondly*,

*Secondly*, That we spent all our vigour in pursuing that part of the war, which could least answer the end we proposed by beginning it; and made no efforts at all, where we could have most weakened the common enemy, and at the same time enriched ourselves.

*Lastly*, That we suffered each of our allies to break every article in those treaties and agreements by which they were bound, and to lay the burden upon us.

Upon the first of these points, that we ought to have entered into this war only as auxiliaries, let any man reflect upon our condition at that time: Just come out of the most tedious, expensive, and unsuccessful war that ever England had been engaged in\*; sinking under heavy debts of a nature and degree never heard of by us or our ancestors; the bulk of the gentry and people heartily tired of the war, and glad of a peace, although it brought no other advantage but itself; no sudden prospect of lessening our taxes, which were grown as necessary to pay our debts as to raise armies; a sort of artificial wealth of funds and stocks in the hands of those who, for ten years before, had been plundering the public; many corruptions in every branch of our government that needed reformation. Under these difficulties, from which twenty years peace, and the wisest management, could hardly recover us, we declared war against France, fortified by the accession and alliance of those powers I mentioned before, and which, in the former war, had been parties in our confederacy. It is very obvious, what a change must be made in the balance by such weights taken out of our scale and put into theirs; since it was manifest by ten years experience, that France, with-

\* I was then lean, being just come out of a fit of sickness. *John Bull*,



out those additions of strength, was able to maintain itself against us. So that human probability ran with mighty odds on the other side; and in this case nothing under the most extreme necessity should force any state to engage in a war. We had already acknowledged Philip for King of Spain; neither does the Queen's declaration of war take notice of the Duke of Anjou's succession to that monarchy as a subject of quarrel, but the French King's governing it as if it were his own; his seizing Cadiz, Milan, and the Spanish Low Countries, with the dignity of proclaiming the pretender. In all which we charge that prince with nothing directly relating to us, excepting the last: And this, although indeed a great affront, might easily have been redressed without a war; for the French court declared they did not acknowledge the pretender, but only gave him the title of King, which was allowed to Augustus by his enemy of Sweden, who had driven him out of Poland, and forced him to acknowledge Stanislaus.

It is true indeed, the danger of the Dutch, by so ill a neighbourhood in Flanders, might affect us very much in the consequences of it; and the loss of Spain to the house of Austria, if it should be governed by French influence and French politics, might in time be very pernicious to our trade. It would therefore have been prudent, as well as generous and charitable, to help our neighbour; and so we might have done without injuring ourselves; for, by an old treaty with Holland we were bound to assist that republic with ten thousand men, whenever they were attacked by the French; whose troops, upon the King of Spain's death, taking possession of Flanders in right of Philip, and securing the Dutch garrisons till they would acknowledge him, the States-General, by memorials from their envoy here, demanded only the ten thousand men we were obliged to give them by virtue of that

treaty. And I make no doubt, but the Dutch would have exerted themselves so vigorously, as to be able with that assistance alone to defend their frontiers; or, if they had been forced to a peace, the Spaniards, who abhor dismembering their monarchy, would never have suffered the French to possess themselves of Flanders. At that time they had none of those endearments to each other, which this war hath created; And whatever hatred and jealousy were natural between the two nations would then have appeared. So that there was no sort of necessity for us to proceed farther, although we had been in a better condition. But our politicians at that time had other views; and a new war must be undertaken upon the advice of those, who with their partisans and adherents, were to be the sole gainers by it. A grand alliance was therefore made between the Emperor, England, and the States-General; by which, if the injuries complained of from France were not remedied in two months, the parties concerned were obliged mutually to assist each other *with their whole strength*.

Thus we became parties in a war in conjunction with two allies, whose share in the quarrel was beyond all proportion greater than ours. However, I can see no reason from the words of the grand alliance, by which we were obliged to make those prodigious expences we have since been at. By what I have always heard and read, I take the *whole strength of a nation*, as understood in that treaty, to be the utmost that a prince can raise annually from his subjects. If he be forced to mortgage and borrow, whether at home or abroad, it is not, properly speaking, *his own strength*, or that of the nation, but the entire substance of particular persons, which not being able to raise out of the annual income of his kingdom, he takes upon security, and  
can



can only pay the interest. And, by this method, one part of the nation is pawned to the other, with hardly a possibility left of being ever redeemed.

Surely it would have been enough for us to have suspended the payment of our debts contracted in the former war; and to have continued our land and malt-tax, with those others, which have since been mortgaged; these, with some additions, would have made up such a sum, as with prudent management, might, I suppose, have maintained an hundred thousand men by sea and land; a reasonable *quota* in all conscience for that ally, who apprehended least danger, and expected least advantage. Nor can we imagine, that either of the confederates, when the war began, would have been so unreasonable as to refuse joining with us upon such a foot, and expect that we should every year go between three and four millions in debt (which hath been our case), because the French could hardly have contrived any offers of a peace so ruinous to us as such a war. Posterity will be at a loss to conceive, what kind of spirit could possess their ancestors, who, after ten years suffering by the unexampled politics of a nation maintaining a war by annually pawning itself; and during a short peace, while they were looking back with horror on the heavy loads of debts they had contracted, universally condemning those pernicious counsels which had occasioned them; racking their inventions for some remedies or expedients to mend their shattered condition; I say, that these very people, without giving themselves time to breathe, should again enter into a more dangerous, chargeable, and expensive war for the same or perhaps a greater period of time, and without any apparent necessity. It is obvious in a private fortune, that whoever annually runs out, and continues the same expences, must every year mortgage a greater quantity of land than he

did before ; and as the debt doubles and trebles upon him, so doth his inability to pay it. By the same proportion we have suffered twice as much by this last ten years war, as we did by the former ; and if it were possible to continue it five years longer at the same rate, it would be as great a burden as the whole twenty. This computation being so easy and trivial as it is almost a shame to mention it ; posterity would think, that those who first advised the war wanted either the sense or the honesty to consider it.

And as we have wasted our strength and vital substance in this profuse manner, so we have shamefully misapplied it to ends at least very different from those for which we undertook the war, and often to effect others which after a peace we may severely repent. This is the second article I proposed to examine.

We have now for ten years together turned the whole force and expence of the war where the enemy was best able to hold us at a bay ; where we could propose no manner of advantage to ourselves ; where it was highly impolitic to enlarge our conquest ; utterly neglecting that part, which would have saved and gained us many millions, which the perpetual maxims of our government teach us to pursue ; which would have soonest weakened the enemy, and must either have promoted a speedy peace, or enabled us to continue the war.

Those who are fond of continuing the war, cry up our constant success at a most prodigious rate, and reckon it infinitely greater than in all human probability we had reason to hope. Ten glorious campaigns are passed, and now at last, like the sick man, we are just expiring with all sorts of good symptoms. Did the advisers of this war suppose it would continue ten years without expecting the success we have had ; and yet at the same time  
determine,



determine, that France must be reduced, and Spain subdued, by employing our whole strength upon Flanders? Did they believe, the last war left us in a condition to furnish such vast supplies for so long a period without involving us and our posterity in inextricable debts? If, after such miraculous *doings* we are not yet in a condition of bringing France to our terms, nor can tell when we shall be so, although we should proceed without any reverse of fortune; what could we look for in the ordinary course of things, but a Flanders war of at least twenty years longer? Do they indeed think, a town taken for the Dutch is a sufficient recompense to us for six millions of money; which is of so little consequence to determine the war, that the French may yet hold out a dozen years more, and afford a town every campaign at the same price?

I say not this by any means to detract from the army, or its leaders. Getting into the enemy's lines, passing rivers, and taking towns, may be actions attended with many glorious circumstances: but when all this brings no real solid advantage to us; when it hath no other end than to enlarge the territories of the Dutch, and increase the fame and wealth of our general; I conclude, however it comes about, that things are not as they should be; and that surely our forces and money might be better employed, both towards reducing our enemy, and working out some benefit to ourselves. But the case is still much harder; we are destroying many thousand lives, exhausting our substance, not for our own interest, which would be but common prudence; not for a thing indifferent, which would be sufficient folly; but perhaps to our own destruction, which is perfect madness. We may live to feel the effects of our own valour more sensibly, than all the consequences we imagine from the dominions of Spain in the Duke of Anjou. We have conquered a noble territory for the states,  
that

that will maintain sufficient troops to defend itself, and feed many hundred thousand inhabitants; where all our encouragement will be given to introduce and improve manufactures, which was the only advantage they wanted; and which, added to their skill, industry, and parsimony, will enable them to undersell us in every market of the world.

Our supply of forty thousand men according to the first stipulation, added to the quotas of the Emperor and Holland, which they were obliged to furnish, would have made an army of near two hundred thousand, exclusive of garrisons, enough to withstand all the power that France could bring against it; and we might have employed the rest much better both for the common cause and our own advantage.

The war in Spain must be imputed to the credulity of our ministers, who suffered themselves to be persuaded by the Imperial court, that the Spaniards were so violently affected to the house of Austria, as upon the first appearance there with a few troops under the Archduke, the whole kingdom would immediately revolt. This we tried; and found the Emperor to have deceived either us or himself. Yet there we drove on the war at a prodigious disadvantage with great expence; and, by a most corrupt management, the only general \*, who, by a course of conduct and fortune almost miraculous, had nearly put us into possession of that kingdom, was left wholly unsupported, exposed to the envy of his rivals, disappointed by the caprices of a young unexperienced prince, under the guidance of a rapacious German ministry, and at last called home in discontent. By which our armies, both in Spain and Portugal, were made a sacrifice to avarice, ill conduct, or treachery.

In common prudence we should either have

\* The Earl of Peterborough.



pushed that war with the utmost vigour in so fortunate a juncture, especially since the gaining that kingdom was the great point for which we pretended to continue the war; or at least when we had *found*, or *made* that design impracticable, we should not have gone on in so expensive a management of it; but have kept our troops on the defensive in Catalonia, and pursued some other way more effectual for distressing the common enemy and advantaging ourselves.

And what a noble field of honour and profit had we before us wherein to employ the best of our strength, which, against all maxims of British policy, we suffered to lie wholly neglected! I have sometimes wondered how it came to pass, that the style of *maritime powers*, by which our allies in a sort of contemptuous manner usually couple us with the Dutch, did never put us in mind of the sea; and while some politicians were shewing us the way to Spain by Flanders, or hers to Savoy or Naples, that the West Indies should never come into their heads. With half the charge we have been at, we might have maintained our original *quota* of forty thousand men in Flanders, and at the same time by our fleets and naval forces have so distressed the Spaniards in the north and south seas of America, as to prevent any returns of money from thence except in our own bottoms. This is what best became us to do as a *maritime power*; this, with any common degree of success, would soon have compelled France to the necessities of a peace, and Spain to acknowledge the Archduke. But while we for ten years have been squandering away our money upon the continent, France hath been wisely ingrossing all the trade of Peru, going directly with their ships to Lima and other ports, and there receiving ingots of gold and silver for French goods of little value; which, besides the mighty advantage to their nation at present, may divert

divert the channel of that trade for the future, so beneficial to us, who used to receive annually such vast sums at Cadiz for our goods sent thence to the Spanish West Indies. All this we tamely saw and suffered without the least attempt to hinder it; except what was performed by some private men at Bristol, who, inflamed by a true spirit of courage and industry, did, about three years ago, with a few vessels, fitted out at their own charge, make a most successful voyage into those parts; took one of the Aquapulco ships, very narrowly missed the other, and are lately returned laden with unenvied wealth, to shew us what might have been done with the like management by a public undertaking. At least we might easily have prevented those great returns of money to France and Spain, although we could not have taken it ourselves. And if it be true, as the advocates for war would have it, that the French are now so impoverished, in what condition must they have been if that issue of wealth had been stopped?

But great events often turn upon very small circumstances. It was the kingdom's misfortune, that the sea was not the Duke of Marlborough's element; otherwise the whole force of the war would infallibly have been bestowed there, infinitely to the advantage of his country, which would then have gone hand in hand with his own. But it is very truly objected, that if we alone had made such an attempt as this, Holland would have been jealous; or if we had done it in conjunction with Holland, the house of Austria would have been discontented. This hath been the style of late years; which whoever introduced among us, they have taught our allies to speak after them. Otherwise it could hardly enter into any imagination, that while we are confederates in a war with those who are to have the whole profit, and who leave a double share of the burden upon us, we dare not

think



think of any design (although against the common enemy) where there is the least prospect of doing good to our own country, for fear of giving umbrage and offence to our allies, while we are ruining ourselves to conquer provinces and kingdoms for them. I therefore confess with shame, that this objection is true: for it is very well known, that while the design of Mr. Hill's expedition \* remained a secret, it was suspected in Holland and Germany to be intended against Peru; whereupon the Dutch made every where their public complaints; and the ministers at Vienna talked of it as an *insolence in the Queen to attempt such an undertaking*; which although it has failed, partly by the accidents of a storm, and partly by the stubbornness or treachery of some in that colony, for whose relief, and at whose intreaty, it was in some measure designed, is no objection at all to an enterprize so well concerted, and with such fair probability of success.

It was something singular that the States should express their uneasiness, when they thought we intended to make some attempt in the Spanish West Indies; because it is agreed between us, that whatever is conquered there by us or them shall belong to the conqueror; which is the only article that I can call to mind in all our treaties or stipulations with any view of interest to this kingdom; and for that very reason, I suppose, among others, hath been altogether neglected. Let those who think this too severe a reflection, examine the whole management of the present war by sea and land, with all our alliances, treaties, stipulations, and conventions, and consider whether the whole doth not look, as if some particular care and industry had

† The expedition in 1711, wherein Sir Hovenden Walker commanded the Fleet, and Mr. Hill the land-forces for the reduction of Quebec and Canada, and regaining the Newfoundland fishery, which the French had taken from us.

been used to prevent any benefit or advantage that might possibly accrue to Britain?

This kind of treatment from our two principal allies hath taught the same dialect to all the rest; so that there is not a petty prince whom we half maintain by subsidies and pensions, who is not ready upon every occasion to threaten us, that he will recall his troops (although they must rob or starve at home) if we refuse to comply with him in any demand, however unreasonable.

Upon the third head I shall produce some instances to shew, how tamely we have suffered each of our allies to infringe every article in those treaties and stipulations, by which they were bound; and to lay the load upon us.

But before I enter upon this, which is a large subject, I shall take leave to offer a few remarks on certain articles in three of our treaties; which may let us perceive how much those ministers valued or understood the true interest, safety, or honour of their country.

We have made two alliances with Portugal, an offensive and a defensive; the first is to remain in force only during the present war; the second to be perpetual. In the offensive alliance, the Emperor, England, and Holland, are parties with Portugal; in the defensive, only we and the States.

Upon the first article of the offensive alliance it is to be observed, that although the grand alliance, as I have already said, allows England and Holland to possess for their own whatever each of them shall conquer in the Spanish West Indies; yet there we are quite cut out by consenting, that the Archduke shall possess the dominions of Spain in as full a manner as their late K. Charles. And what is more remarkable, we broke this very article in favour of Portugal by subsequent stipulations; where we agree that K. Charles shall deliver up Esramadura, Vigo, and some other places to the Portuguese.



guesse, as soon as we can conquer them from the enemy. They who are guilty of so much folly and contradiction, know best whether it proceeded from corruption or stupidity.

By two other articles (besides the honour of being convoys and guards in ordinary to the Portuguese ships and coasts), we are to guess the enemy's thoughts, and to take the King of Portugal's word whenever he hath a fancy that he shall be invaded. We are also to furnish him with a strength superior to what the enemy intends to invade any of his dominions with, let that be what it will. And until we know what the enemy's forces are, his Portuguese Majesty is sole judge what strength is superior, and what will be able to prevent an invasion; and may send our fleets whenever he pleases upon his errands to some of the farther parts of the world, or keep them attending upon his own coasts till he think fit to dismiss them. These fleets must likewise be subject in all things, not only to the King, but to his viceroys, admirals, and governors in any of his foreign dominions, when he is in an humour to apprehend an invasion; which, I believe, is an indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquered nation.

In the defensive alliance with that crown, which is to remain perpetual, and where only England and Holland are parties with them, the same care in almost the same words is taken for our fleet to attend their coasts and foreign dominions, and to be under the same obedience. We and the States are likewise to furnish them with twelve thousand men at our own charge, which we are constantly to recruit; and these are to be subject to the Portuguese generals.

In the offensive alliance we took no care of having the assistance of Portugal, whenever we should be invaded; but in this it seems we are wiser; for that King is obliged to make war on France or

Spain, whenever we or Holland are invaded by either ; but before this we are to supply them with the same forces both by sea and land, as if he were invaded himself. And this must needs be a very prudent and safe course for a *maritime power* to take upon a sudden invasion ; by which, instead of making use of our fleets and arms for our own defence, we must send them abroad for the defence of Portugal.

By the thirteenth article we are told what this assistance is which the Portuguese are to give us, and upon what conditions. They are to furnish ten men of war ; and when England and Holland shall be invaded by France and Spain together, or by Spain alone, in either of these cases those ten Portuguese men of war are to serve only upon their own coasts ; where no doubt they will be of mighty use to their allies, and terror to the enemy.

How the Dutch were drawn to have a part in either of these two alliances, is not very material to inquire, since they have been so wise as never to observe them ; and, I suppose, never intended it ; but resolved, as they have since done, to shift the load upon us.

Let any man read these two treaties from the beginning to the end, he will imagine that the King of Portugal and his ministers sat down and made them by themselves, and then sent them to their allies to sign ; the whole spirit and tenor of them quite through running only upon this single point, what we and Holland are to do for Portugal, without any mention of an equivalent, except those ten ships, which, at the time when we have greatest need of their assistance, are obliged to attend upon their own coasts.

The barrier-treaty between Great Britain and Holland was concluded at the Hague, on the 29th of October in the year 1709. In this treaty neither her Majesty nor her kingdoms have any inter-

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est or concern, farther than what is mentioned in the second and the twentieth articles : by the former the States are to assist the QUEEN in defending the act of succession ; and by the other, not to treat of a peace, till France hath acknowledged the QUEEN and the succession of Hanover, and promised to remove the pretender out of that king's dominions.

As to the first of these, it is certainly for the safety and interest of the States-General, that the Protestant succession should be preserved in England ; because such a *Popish* prince as we apprehended, would infallibly join with France in the ruin of that republic. And the Dutch are as much bound to support our succession, as they are tied to any part of a treaty or league offensive and defensive against a common enemy, without any separate benefit upon that consideration. Her Majesty is in the full peaceable possession of her kingdoms, and of the hearts of her people ; among whom hardly one in five thousand are in the pretender's interest. And whether the assistance of the Dutch, to preserve a right so well established, be an equivalent to those many unreasonable exorbitant articles in the rest of the treaty, let the world judge. What an impression of our settlement must it give abroad, to see our ministers offering such conditions to the Dutch to prevail on them to be guarantees of our acts of parliament ! neither perhaps is it right, in point of policy or good sense, that a foreign power should be called in to confirm our succession by way of guarantee, but only to acknowledge it ; otherwise we put it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession without the consent of that prince or state who is guarantee, how much soever the necessities of the kingdom may require it.

As to the other article, it is a natural consequence that must attend any treaty of peace we can make

make with France; being only the acknowledgement of her Majesty as QUEEN of her own dominions, and the right of succession by our own laws, which no foreign power hath any pretence to dispute.

However, in order to deserve these mighty advantages from the States, the rest of the treaty is wholly taken up in directing what we are to do for them.

By the grand alliance, which was the foundation of the present war, the Spanish Low Countries were to be recovered and delivered to the King of Spain; but by this treaty, that prince is to possess nothing in Flanders during the war; and after a peace the States are to have the military command of about twenty towns, with their dependencies, and four hundred thousand crowns a year from the King of Spain to maintain their garrisons. By which means they will have the command of all Flanders, from Newport on the sea, to Namur on the Maese, and be entirely masters of the Pais de Waas, the richest part of those provinces. Further, they have liberty to garrison any place they shall think fit in the Spanish Low Countries, whenever there is an appearance of war; and consequently to put garrisons into Ostend, or where else they please, upon a rupture with England.

By this treaty likewise the Dutch will in effect be entire masters of all the Low Countries; may impose duties, restrictions in commerce, and prohibitions at their pleasure; and in that fertile country may set up all sorts of manufactures, particularly the woollen, by inviting the disobliged manufacturers in Ireland, and the French refugees, who are scattered all over Germany. And as this manufacture increaseth abroad, the clothing-people of England will be necessitated for want of employment to follow; and in few years, by help of the low interest of money in Holland, Flanders may

recover



recover that beneficial trade which we got from them. The landed men of England will then be forced to re-establish the staples of wool abroad; and the Dutch, instead of being only the carriers, will become the original possessors of those commodities, with which the greatest part of the trade is now carried on. And as they increase their trade, it is obvious they will enlarge their strength at sea, and that ours must lessen in proportion.

All the ports in Flanders are to be subject to the like duties, that the Dutch shall lay upon the Scheld, which is to be closed on the side of the States: thus all other nations are in effect shut out from trading with Flanders. Yet in the very same article it is said, that "the States shall be favoured in all the Spanish dominions as much as Great Britain, or as the people most favoured." We have conquered Flanders for them, and are in a worse condition as to our trade there, than before the war began. We have been the great support of the King of Spain, to whom the Dutch have hardly contributed any thing at all; and yet "they are to be equally favoured with us in all his dominions. Of all this the QUEEN is under the unreasonable obligation of being guarantee, and that they shall possess their barrier and their four hundred thousand crowns a year, even before a peace.

It is to be observed, that this treaty was only signed by one of our plenipotentiaries\*; and I have been told, that the other† was heard to say, he would rather lose his right hand than set it to such a treaty. Had he spoke those words in due season, and loud enough to be heard on this side the water, considering the credit he had then at court, he might have saved much of his country's

\* Lord Townshend. See John Bull.

† Duke of Marlborough.

honour, and got as much to himself; therefore, if the report be true, I am inclined to think he only SAID it. I have been likewise told, that some very necessary circumstances were wanting in the entrance upon this treaty; but the ministers here rather chose to sacrifice the honour of the crown, and the safety of their country, than not ratify what one of their favourites had transacted.

Let me now consider in what manner our allies have observed those treaties they made with us, and the several stipulations and agreements pursuant to them.

By the grand alliance between the Empire, England, and Holland, we were to assist the other two *totis viribus*, by sea and land. By a convention subsequent to this treaty, the proportions which the several parties should contribute towards the war, were adjusted in the following manner: the Emperor was obliged to furnish ninety thousand men against France, either in Italy, or upon the Rhine; Holland to bring sixty thousand into the field in Flanders, exclusive of *garrisons*; and *we* forty thousand. In winter 1702, which was the next year, the Duke of Marlborough proposed raising ten thousand men more by way of augmentation, and to carry on the war with greater vigour; to which the parliament agreed, and the Dutch were to raise the same number. This was upon a *par*, directly contrary to the former stipulation, whereby our part was to be a third less than theirs; and therefore it was granted with a condition that Holland should break off all trade and commerce with France. But this condition was never executed; the Dutch only amusing us with a specious declaration, till our session of parliament was ended; and the following year it was taken off by concert between our general and the States, without any reason assigned, for the satisfaction of the kingdom. The next, and some ensuing campaigns, further additional



ditional forces were allowed by parliament for the war in Flanders; and in every new supply the Dutch gradually lessened their proportions, altho' the parliament address'd the Queen, that the States might be desired to observe them according to a agreement; which had no other effect, than to teach them to elude it by making their troops nominal corps; as they did by keeping up the number of regiments, but sinking a fifth part of the men and money; so that now things are just inverted. And in all new levies we contributed a third more than the Dutch, who at first were obliged to the same proportion more than us.

Besides, the more towns we conquer for the States, the worse condition we are in towards reducing the common enemy, and consequently of putting an end to the war. For they make no scruple of employing the troops of their *quota* towards garrisoning every town, as fast as it is taken; directly contrary to the agreement between us, by which all garrisons are particularly excluded. This is at length arriv'd, by several steps, to such a height, that there are at present in the field not so many forces under the Duke of Marlborough's command in Flanders, as Britain alone maintains for that service, nor have been for some years past.

The Duke of Marlborough having entered the enemies lines and taken Bouchain, formed the design of keeping so great a number of troops, and particularly of cavalry, in Lisle, Tournay, Dowa, and the country between, as should be able to harass all the neighbouring provinces of France during the winter, prevent the enemy from erecting their magazines, and, by consequence, from subsisting their forces next spring, and render it impossible for them to assemble their army another year, without going back behind the Soam to do it. In order to effect this project, it was necessary

to be at an expence extraordinary of forage for the troops, for building stable, finding fire and candle for the soldiers, with other incident charges. The Queen readily agreed to furnish her share of the first article, that of the forage, which only belonged to her. But the states insisting, that her Majesty should likewise come into a proportion of the other articles, which in justice belonged totally to them: she agreed even to that, rather than a design of this importance should fail. And yet we know it hath failed, and that the Dutch refused their consent till the time was past for putting it in execution, even in the opinion of those who proposed it. Perhaps a certain article in the treaties of contribution submitted to by such of the French dominions as pay them to the States, was the principal cause of defeating this project; since one great advantage to have been gained by it was, as is before mentioned, to have hindred the enemy from erecting their magazines; and one article in those treaties of contributions is, that the product of those countries shall pass free and unmolested. So that the question was reduced to this short issue: Whether the Dutch should lose this paltry benefit, or the common cause an advantage of such mighty importance?

The sea being the element where we might most probably carry on the war with any advantage to ourselves, it was agreed, that we should bear five eighths of the charge in that service, and the Dutch the other three; and, by the grand alliance, whatever we or Holland should conquer in the Spanish West-Indies, was to accrue to the conquerors. It might therefore have been hoped, that this *maritime ally* of ours would have made up in their fleet what they fell short in their army; but quite otherwise, they never once furnished their *quota* either of ships or men; or if some few of their fleet now and then appeared, it was no more than appearing; for they immediately



immediately separated to look to their merchants, and protect their trade. And we may remember very well, when these guarantees of our succession after having not one ship for many months together in the Mediterranean, sent that part of their *quota* thither, and furnished nothing to us, at the same time that they alarmed us with the rumour of an invasion. And last year, when Sir James Wisheart was dispatched into Holland to expostulate with the States, and to desire they would make good their agreements in so important a part of the service; he met with such a reception as ill became a republic to give, that were under so many great obligations to us; in short, such an one as those only deserved who are content to take it.

It hath likewise been no small inconvenience to us, that the Dutch are always slow in paying their subsidies; by which means the weight and pressure of the payment lies upon the Queen, as well as the blame if her Majesty be not very exact. Nor will even this always content our allies: for, in July 1711, the King of Spain was paid all his subsidies to the first of January next; nevertheless he hath since complained for want of money; and his *secretary* threatened, that if we would not further supply his Majesty, he could not answer for what might happen; although K. Charles had not at that time one third of the troops for which he was paid; and even those he had were neither paid or clothed.

I cannot forbear mentioning here another passage concerning subsidies, to shew what opinion foreigners have of our easiness, and how much they reckon themselves masters of our money, whenever they think fit to call for it. The Queen was by agreement to pay two hundred thousand crowns a year to the Prussian troops; the States one hundred thousand; and the Emperor only thirty thousand for recruiting; which his Imperial Majesty never paid. Prince Eugene happening to pass by

Berlin, the ministers of that court applied to him for redress in this particular ; and his Highness very frankly promised them, that, in consideration of this deficiency, Britain and the States should increase their subsidies to seventy thousand crowns more between them ; and that the Emperor should be punctual for the time to come. This was done by that prince without any orders or power whatsoever. The Dutch very reasonably refused consenting to it ; but the Prussian minister here making his applications at our court, prevailed on us to agree to our proportion, before we could hear what resolution would be taken in Holland. It is therefore to be hoped, that his Prussian Majesty, at the end of this war, will not have the same cause of complaint which he had at the close of the last ; that his military chest was emptier by twenty thousand crowns than at the time that war began.

The Emperor, as we have already said, was by stipulation to furnish ninety thousand men against the common enemy, as having no fleets to maintain, and in right of his family being most concerned in the success of the war. However, this agreement hath been so ill observed, that from the beginning of the war to this day, neither of the two last emperors had ever twenty thousand men on their own account in the common cause, excepting once in Italy, when the *Imperial* court exerted itself in a point they have much more at heart, than that of gaining Spain or the Indies to their family. When they had succeeded in their attempts on the side of Italy, and observed our blind zeal for pushing on the war at all adventures, they soon found out the most effectual expedient to excuse themselves. They computed easily, that it would cost them less to make large presents to one single person than to pay an army, and to turn to as good account. They thought they could not put their  
affairs



affairs into better hands ; and therefore wisely left us to fight their battles.

Besides, it appeared by several instances how little the Emperor regarded his allies, or the cause they were engaged in, when once he thought the *empire* itself was secure. It is known enough, that he might several times have made a peace with his discontented subjects in Hungary upon terms not at all unbefitting either his dignity or interest ; but he rather chose to sacrifice the whole alliance to his private passions, by entirely subduing and enslaving a miserable people, who had but too much provocation to take up arms to free themselves from the oppressions under which they were groaning ; yet this must serve as an excuse for breaking his agreement, and diverting so great a body of troops, which might have been employed against France.

Another instance of the Emperor's indifference, or rather dislike, to the common cause of the allies, is the business of Toulon. This design was indeed discovered here at home, by a person whom every body knows to be the creature of a certain *great man*, at least as much noted for his skill in gaming as in politics, upon the base mercenary end of getting money by wagers, which was then so common a practice, that I remember a gentleman in business, who having the curiosity to inquire how wagers went upon the exchange, found some people deep in the secret to have been concerned in that kind of traffic ; as appeared by premiums named for towns, which nobody but those behind the curtain could suspect. However, although this project had gotten wind by so scandalous a proceeding ; yet Toulon might probably have been taken, if the Emperor had not thought fit in that very juncture to detach twelve or fifteen thousand men to seize Naples, as an enterprise that was more his private and immediate interest. But it was manifest, that his Imperial Majesty had no mind to see Toulon in possession

possession of the allies; for even with these discouragements the attempt might yet have succeeded, if Prince Eugene had not thought fit to oppose it; which cannot be imputed to his own judgement, but to some politic reasons of his court. The Duke of Savoy was for attacking the enemy as soon as our army arrived; but when the Marechal de Theſſe's troops were all come up, to pretend to besiege the place, in the condition we were at that time, was a farce and a jest. Had Toulon fallen then into our hands, the maritime power of France would, in a great measure, have been destroyed.

But a much greater instance than either of the foregoing, how little the Emperor regarded us or our quarrel, after all we had done to save his Imperial crown, and to assert the title of his brother to the monarchy of Spain, may be brought from the proceedings of that court not many months ago. It was judged, that a war carried on upon the side of Italy would cause a great diversion of the French forces, wound them in a very tender part, and facilitate the progress of our arms in Spain as well as Flanders. It was proposed to the Duke of Savoy to make this diversion; and not only a diversion during the summer, but the winter too, by taking quarters on this side of the hills. Only, in order to make him willing and able to perform this work, two points were to be settled: first, it was necessary to end the dispute between the *Imperial* court and his Royal Highness, which had no other foundation than the Emperor's refusing to make good some articles of that treaty, on the faith of which the Duke engaged in the present war, and for the execution whereof Britain and Holland became guarantees, at the request of the late Emperor Leopold. To remove this difficulty, the Earl of Peterborough was dispatched to Vienna, got over some part of those disputes to the satisfaction of the Duke of Savoy, and had put the  
rest



rest in a fair way of being accommodated at the time the Emperor Joseph died. Upon which great event the Duke of Savoy took the resolution of putting himself at the head of the army, although the whole matter was not finished, since the common cause required his assistance; and that until a new Emperor were elected, it was impossible to make good the treaty to him. In order to enable him, the only thing he asked was, that he should be reinforced by the Imperial court with eight thousand men before the end of the campaign. Mr. Whitworth was sent to Vienna to make this proposal; and it is credibly reported, that he was empowered, rather than fail, to offer forty thousand pounds for the march of those eight thousand men, if he found it was want of *ability, and not inclination*, that hindered the sending them. But he was so far from succeeding, that it was said the ministers of that court did not so much as give him an opportunity to tempt them with any particular sums; but cut off all his hopes at once, by alledging the impossibility of complying with the Queen's demands upon any consideration whatsoever. They could not plead their old excuse of the war in Hungary, which was then brought to an end. They had nothing to offer but some general speculative reasons, which it would expose them to repeat; and so after much delay, and many trifling pretences, they utterly refused so small and seasonable an assistance; to the ruin of a project that would have more terrified France, and caused a greater diversion of their forces, than a much more numerous army in any other part. Thus for want of eight thousand men, for whose winter-campaign the Queen was willing to give forty thousand pounds; and for want of executing the design I lately mentioned, of hindering the enemy from erecting magazines, towards which her Majesty was ready not only to bear her own proportion, but a share of that

that which the States were obliged to; our hopes of taking winter-quarters in the north and south parts of France are eluded, and the war left in that method which is like to continue it longest. Can there an example be given, in the whole course of this war, where we have treated the pettiest prince with whom we had to deal in so contemptuous a manner? Did we ever once consider what we could afford, or what we were obliged to when our assistance was desired, even while we lay under immediate apprehensions of being invaded?

When Portugal came as a confederate into the grand alliance, it was stipulated, that the Empire, England, and Holland, should each maintain four thousand men of their own troops in that kingdom, and pay between them a million of patacoons to the King of Portugal for the support of twenty-eight thousand Portuguese; which number of forty thousand was to be the confederate army against Spain on the Portugal side. This treaty was ratified by all the three powers. But in a short time after the Emperor declared himself unable to comply with his part of the agreement, and so left the two thirds upon us; who very generously undertook that burthen, and at the same time two thirds of the subsidies for maintenance of the Portuguese troops. But neither is this the worst part of the story; for although the Dutch did indeed send their own *quota* of four thousand men to Portugal, (which however they would not agree to but upon condition that the other two thirds should be supplied by us); yet they never took care to recruit them: for in the year 1706, the Portuguese, British, and Dutch forces having marched with the Earl of Galway into Castile, and by the noble conduct of that general being forced to retire into Valencia, it was found necessary to raise a new army on the Portugal side; where the Queen hath, at several times, increased her establishment to ten thousand



thousand five hundred men; and the Dutch never replaced one single man, nor paid one penny of their subsidies to Portugal in six years.

The Spanish army on the side of Catalonia, is, or ought to be, about fifty thousand men, exclusive of Portugal. And here the war hath been carried on almost entirely at our cost. For this whole army is paid by the Queen, excepting only seven battalions and fourteen squadrons of Dutch and Palatines; and even fifteen hundred of these are likewise in our pay; besides the sums given to King Charles for subsidies and the maintenance of his court. Neither are our troops at Gibraltar included within this number. And further, we alone have been at all the charge of transporting the forces first sent from Genoa to Barcelona; and of all the *Imperial* recruits from time to time. And have likewise paid vast sums as levy-money for every individual man and horse so furnished to recruit; although the horses were scarce worth the price of transportation. But this hath been almost the constant misfortune of our fleet during the present war; instead of being employed on some enterprize for the good of the nation, or even for the protection of our trade, to be wholly taken up in transporting soldiers.

We have actually conquered all Bavaria, Ulm, Augsburg, Landau, and a great part of Alsace, for the Emperor: and by the troops we have furnished, the armies we have paid, and the diversions we have given to the enemies forces, have chiefly contributed to the conquests of Milan, Mantu, and Mirandola, and to the recovery of the duchy of Modena. The last Emperor drained the wealth of those countries into his own coffers, without increasing his troops against France by such mighty acquisitions, or yielding to the most reasonable requests we have made.

Of the many towns we have taken for the Dutch, we have consented, by the barrier-treaty, that all those which were not in the possession of Spain, upon the death of the late Catholic King, shall be part of the States dominions; and that they shall have the military power in the most considerable of the rest; which is in effect to be absolute sovereigns of the whole. And the Hollanders have already made such good use of their time, that in conjunction with our general the oppressions of Flanders are much greater than ever.

And this treatment, which we have received from our two principal allies, hath been pretty well copied by most other princes in the confederacy, with whom we have any dealings. For instance; seven Portuguese regiments, after the battle of Almanza, went off with the rest of that broken army to Catalonia; the King of Portugal said he was not able to pay them, while they were out of his country; the Queen consented therefore to do it herself, provided the King would raise as many more to supply their place. This he engaged to do, but never performed. Notwithstanding which, his subsidies were constantly paid him by my Lord Godolphin for almost four years, without any deduction upon account of those seven regiments; directly contrary to the seventh article of our offensive alliance with that crown, where it is agreed, that a deduction shall be made out of those subsidies, in proportion to the number of men wanting in that complement which the King is to maintain. But whatever might have been the reasons for this proceeding, it seems they are above the understanding of the present Lord Treasurer\*; who not entering into those refinements of paying the *public money* upon *private* considerations, hath been so uncourtly as to stop it. This disappointment, I

\* Earl of Oxford.



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suppose, hath put the court of Lisbon upon other expedients, of raising the price of forage, so as to force us either to lessen our number of troops, or be at double expence in maintaing them; and this at a time when their own product, as well as the import of corn, was never greater; and of demanding a duty upon the soldiers cloaths we carried over for those troops, which have been their sole defence against an inveterate enemy; and whose example might have infused courage, as well as taught them discipline, if their spirits had been capable of receiving either.

In order to augment our forces every year in the same proportion as those for whom we fight diminish theirs, we have been obliged to hire troops from several princes of the empire, whose ministers and residents here have perpetually importuned the court with unreasonable demands, under which our late ministers thought fit to be passive. For those demands were always backed with a threat to recall their soldiers; which was a thing not to be heard of, because it might *discontent the Dutch*. In the mean time those princes never sent their contingent to the Emperor, as by the laws of the empire they are obliged to do; but gave, for their excuse, that we had already hired all they could possibly spare.

But if all this be true; if, according to what I have affirmed, we began this war contrary to reason; if, as the other party themselves upon all occasions acknowledge, the success we have had was more than we could reasonably expect; if after all our success we have not made that use of it, which in reason we ought to have done; if we have made weak and foolish bargains with our allies; suffered them tamely to break every article, even in those bargains to our disadvantage, and allowed them to treat us with insolence and contempt, at the very instant when we were gaining towns,

provinces, and kingdoms for them, at the price of our ruin, and without any prospect of interest to ourselves; if we have consumed all our strength in attacking the enemy on the strongest side, where (as the old Duke of Schomberg expressed it) "to engage with France was to take a bull by the horns;" and left wholly unattempted that part of the war, which could only enable us to continue or to end it; if all this, I say, be our case, it is a very obvious question to ask, by what motives or what management we are thus become the *dupes* and *bubbles* of Europe? Sure it cannot be owing to the stupidity arising from the coldness of our climate; since those among our allies, who have given us most reason to complain, are as far removed from the sun as ourselves.

If in laying open the real causes of our present misery I am forced to speak with some freedom, I think it will require no apology. Reputation is the smallest sacrifice those can make us who have been the instruments of our ruin; because it is that for which, in all probability, they have the least value. So that in exposing the actions of such persons it cannot be said, properly speaking, to do them an injury. But as it will be some satisfaction to our people to know by whom they have been so long abused; so it may be of great use to us, and to our posterity, not to trust the safety of their country in the hands of those who act by such principles, and from such motives.

I have already observed, that when the counsels of this war were debated in the late King's time, a certain *great man* was then so averse from entering into it, that he rather chose to give up his employment, and tell the King he could serve him no longer. Upon that prince's death, although the grounds of our quarrel with France had received no manner of addition, yet this Lord thought fit to alter his sentiments; for the scene was quite changed



changed; his Lordship, and the family with whom he was engaged by so complicated an alliance, were in the highest credit possible with the Queen. The treasurer's staff was ready for his Lordship; the Duke \* was to command the army, and the Dutchess, by her employments, and the favour she was possessed of, to be always nearest her Majesty's person; by which the whole power at home and abroad would be devolved upon that family. This was a prospect so very inviting, that, to confess the truth, it could not be easily withstood by any, who have so keen an appetite for wealth or power. By an agreement subsequent to the grand alliance, we were to assist the Dutch with forty thousand men, all to be commanded by the Duke of Marlborough. So that whether this war was prudently begun, or not, it is plain that the true spring or motive of it was the aggrandizing a particular family; and in short a war of the *general* and the *ministry*, and not of the *prince* or *people*; since those very persons were against it when they knew the power, and consequently the profit, would be in other hands.

With these measures fell in all that set of people who are called the *moneyed men*; such as had raised vast sums by trading with stocks and funds, and lending upon great interest and premiums; whose perpetual harvest is war, and whose beneficial way of traffic must very much decline by a peace.

In that whole chain of incroachments made upon us by the Dutch, which I have above deduced; and under those several gross impositions from other princes, if any one should ask, why our general continued so easy to the last? I know no other way so probable, or indeed so charitable, to account for it, as by that unmeasurable love of wealth, which his best friends allow to be his predominant passion. However, I shall wave any thing that is personal

\* Duke of Marlborough.

upon this subject. I shall say nothing of those great presents made by several princes, which the soldiers used to call *winter-foraging*, and said it was better than that of the *summer*; of two and half *per cent.* subtracted out of all the subsidies we pay in those parts, which amounts to no inconsiderable sum; and, lastly, of the grand perquisites in a long successful war, which are so amicably adjusted between him and the States.

But when the war was thus begun, there soon fell in other incidents here at home, which made the continuance of it necessary for those who were the chief advisers. The *Whigs* were at that time out of all credit or consideration. The reigning favourites had always carried what was called the *Tory principles* at least as high as our constitution could bear; and most others in great employments were wholly in the church-interest. These last, among whom were several persons of the greatest merit, quality, and consequence, were not able to endure the many instances of pride, insolence, avarice, and ambition, which those favourites began so early to discover, nor to see them presuming to be sole dispensers of the royal favour. However, their opposition was to no purpose; they wrestled with too great a power, and were soon crushed under it. For those in possession finding they could never be quiet in their usurpations, while others had any credit, who were at least upon an equal foot of merit, began to make overtures to the discarded *Whigs*, who would be content with any terms of accommodation. Thus commenced this *solemn league and covenant*, which hath ever since been cultivated with so much application. The great traders in money were wholly devoted to the *Whigs*, who had first raised them. The army, the court, and the treasury, continued under the old *despotic* administration: the *Whigs* were received into employment, left to manage the parliament, cry down  
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the landed interest, and worry the church. Mean time our allies, who were not ignorant, that all this artificial structure had no true foundation in the hearts of the people, resolved to make the best use of it as long as it should last. And the general's credit being raised to a great height at home by our success in Flanders, the Dutch began their gradual impositions ; lessening their *quotas*, breaking their stipulations, garrisoning the towns we took for them, without supplying their troops ; with many other infringements : All which we were forced to submit to, because the general was *made easy* ; because the moneyed men at home were fond of the war ; because the *Whigs* were not firmly settled ; and because that exorbitant degree of power, which was built upon a supposed necessity of employing particular persons, would go off in a peace. It is needless to add, that the Emperor, and other princes, followed the example of the Dutch, and succeeded as well, for the same reasons.

I have here imputed the continuance of the war to the mutual indulgence between our general and allies, wherein they both so well found their accounts : to the fears of the *money-changers*, lest their *tables should be overthrown* ; to the designs of the *Whigs*, who apprehended the loss of their credit and employments in a peace : and to those at home, who held their immoderate engrossments of power and favour by no other tenure, than their own presumption upon the necessity of affairs. The truth of this will appear indisputable, by considering with what unanimity and concert these several parties acted towards that great end.

When the vote passed in the house of Lords against any peace without Spain being restored to the Austrian family, the Earl of Wharton told the house that it was indeed impossible and impracticable to recover Spain ; but however there were *certain reasons* why such a vote should be made at  
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that time ; which reasons wanted no explanation ; for the general and the ministry having refused to accept very advantageous offers of a peace, after the battle of Ramalies, were forced to take in a set of men with a previous bargain to screen them from the consequences of that miscarriage. And accordingly, upon the first succeeding opportunity that fell, which was the Prince of Denmark's death \*, the chief leaders of the party were brought into several great employments.

Thus when the Queen was no longer able to bear the tyranny and insolence of those ungrateful servants, who, as they *waxed the fatter*, did but *kick the more* ; our two great allies abroad, and our stock-jobbers at home, took immediate alarm ; applied the nearest way to the throne by memorials and messages jointly, directing her Majesty not to change her secretary or treasurer ; who, for the true reasons that these officious intermeddlers demanded their continuance, ought never to have been admitted into the least degree of trust ; since what they did was nothing less than betraying the interest of their native country to those princes, who, in their turns, were to do what they could to support them in power at home.

Thus it plainly appears that there was a conspiracy on all sides to go on with those measures, which must perpetuate the war ; and a conspiracy founded upon the interest and ambition of each party ; which begat so firm an union, that instead of wondering why it lasted so long. I am astonished to think how it came to be broken. The prudence, courage, and firmness of her Majesty, in all the steps of that great change, would, if the particulars were truly related, make a very shining part in her story ; nor is her judgment less to be admired, which directed her in the choice of per-

\* Prince George of Denmark, husband to Q. Anne.



haps the only persons who had skill, credit, and resolution enough to be her instruments in overthrowing so many difficulties.

Some would pretend to lessen the merit of this, by telling us, that the rudeness, the tyranny, the oppression, the ingratitude of the late favourites towards their mistress, were no longer to be borne. They produce instances to shew, how her Majesty was pursued through all her retreats, particularly at Windsor; where, after the enemy had possessed themselves of every inch of ground, they at last attacked and stormed the castle, forcing the Queen to fly to an adjoining cottage, pursuant to the advice of Solomon, who tells us, *It is better to live on the house-top, than with a scolding woman in a large house*. They would have it, that such continued ill usage was enough to inflame the meekest spirit. They blame the favourites in point of policy, and think it nothing extraordinary, that the Queen should be at an end of her patience, and resolve to discard them. But I am of another opinion, and think their proceedings were right. For nothing is so apt to break even the bravest spirits as a continual chain of oppressions; one injury is best defended by a second, and this by a third. By these steps the old *masters of the palace* in France became *masters of the kingdom* \*; and by these steps a *general during pleasure* might have grown into a *general for life*, and *general for life* into a *king*. So that I still insist upon it as a wonder, how her Majesty, thus besieged on all sides, was able to extricate herself.

Having thus mentioned the real causes, although disguised under specious pretences, which have so long continued the war, I must beg leave to reason a little with those persons, who are against any peace but what they call a *good one*; and explain

\* See the Tale of a Tub, p. 25. vol. 1.

themselves, that no peace can be *good* without an entire restoration of Spain to the house of Austria. It is to be supposed, that what I am to say upon this part of the subject will have little influence on those, whose particular ends or designs of any sort lead them to wish the continuance of the war: I mean, the general and our allies abroad, the knot of late favourites at home, the body of such as traffic in stocks; and, lastly, that set of factious politicians, who were so violently bent at least upon *clipping* our constitution in church and state. Therefore I shall not apply myself to any of these, but to all others indifferently, whether *Whigs* or *Tories*, whose private interest is best answered by the welfare of their country. And if among these there be any who think we ought to fight on till King Charles be quietly settled in the monarchy of Spain, I believe there are several points which they have not thoroughly considered.

For, first, it is to be observed, that this resolution against any peace without Spain is a new incident, grafted upon the original quarrel by the intrigues of a faction among us, who prevailed to give it the sanction of a vote in both houses of parliament, to justify those whose interest lay in perpetuating the war. And, as this proceeding was against the practice of all princes and states whose intentions were fair and honourable; so is it contrary to common prudence as well as justice; I might add, that it was impious too, by presuming to control events which are only in the hands of God. Ours and the States complaint against France and Spain are deduced in each of our declarations of war, and our pretensions specified in the *eighth article* of the grand alliance; but there is not in any of these the least mention of demanding Spain for the house of Austria, or of refusing any peace without that condition. Having already made an extract from both declarations of war, I shall here give a translation  
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of the eighth article in the grand alliance, which will put this matter out of dispute.

THE EIGHTH ARTICLE OF THE GRAND ALLIANCE.

“WHEN the war is once undertaken, none of the parties shall have the liberty to enter upon a treaty of peace with the enemy, but jointly and in concert with the others. Nor is peace to be made without having first obtained a just and reasonable satisfaction for his Cæsarean Majesty, and for his Royal Majesty of Great-Britain, and a particular security to the Lords the States-General of their dominions, provinces, titles, navigation, and commerce: and a sufficient provision, that the kingdoms of France and Spain be never united, or come under the government of the same person, or that the same man may never be king of both kingdoms; and particularly, that the French may never be in possession of the Spanish West-Indies; and that they may not have the liberty of navigation for conveniency of trade under any pretence whatsoever, neither directly nor indirectly, except it is agreed, that the subjects of Great Britain and Holland may have full power to use and enjoy all the same privileges, rights, immunities, and liberties of commerce by land and sea in Spain, in the Mediterranean, and in all the places and countries which the late King of Spain, at the time of his death, was in possession of, as well in Europe as elsewhere, as they did then use and enjoy, or which the subjects of both, or each nation, could use and enjoy, by virtue of any right, obtained before the death of the said King of Spain, either by treaties, conventions, customs, or any other way whatsoever.”

Here we see the demands intended to be insisted on by the allies, upon any treaty of peace, are, a just and reasonable satisfaction for the Emperor and King of Great Britain, a security to the States-General for their dominions, &c. and a sufficient provision, that France and Spain be never united under the same man as King of both kingdoms. The rest relates to the liberty of trade and commerce for us and the Dutch; but not a syllable of engaging to dispossess the Duke of Anjou.

But to know how this new language, of *no peace without Spain*, was first introduced, and at last prevailed among us, we must begin a great deal higher.

It was the partition-treaty, which begot the will in favour of the Duke of Anjou; for this naturally led the Spaniards to receive a prince supported by a great power, whose interest as well as affection engaged them to preserve that monarchy entire, rather than to oppose him in favour of another family, who must expect assistance from a number of confederates, whose principal members had already disposed of what did not belong to them, and by a previous treaty parcelled out the monarchy of Spain.

Thus the Duke of Anjou got into the full possession of all the kingdoms and states belonging to that monarchy, as well in the old world as the new. And whatever the house of Austria pretended from their memorials to us and the States, it was at that time but too apparent, that the inclinations of the Spaniards were on the Duke's side.

However, a war was resolved; and, in order to carry it on with great vigour a grand alliance formed, wherein the ends proposed to be obtained are plainly and distinctly laid down, as I have already quoted them. It pleased God, in the course of this war, to bless the arms of the allies with remarkable successes; by which we were soon put into a  
condition



condition of demanding and expecting such terms of peace, as we proposed to ourselves when we began the war. But instead of this, our victories only served to lead us on to further visionary prospects; advantage was taken of the sanguine temper, which so many successes had wrought the nation up to; new romantic views were proposed, and the old, reasonable sober design was forgot.

This was the artifice of those here, who were sure to grow richer, as the public became poorer; and who, after the resolutions which the two houses were prevailed upon to make, might have carried on the war with safety to themselves, till malt and land were mortgaged, till a general excise was established, and the *dizieme denier* raised by *collectors in red coats*. And this was just the circumstance which it suited their interests to be in.

The house of Austria approved this scheme with reason; since whatever would be obtained by the blood and treasure of others, was to accrue to that family, while they only lent their name to the cause,

The Dutch might perhaps have grown resty under their burthen; but care was likewise taken of that by a *barrier treaty* made with the states, which deserveth such epithets as I care not to bestow; but may perhaps consider it at a proper occasion in a *Discourse* by itself \*.

By this treaty the condition of the war with respect to the Dutch was wisely altered; they fought no longer for security, but for grandeur; and we, instead of labouring to make them *safe*, must beggar ourselves to make them *formidable*.

Will any one contend, that if at the treaty of Gertruydenburg we could have been satisfied with such terms of a peace, as we proposed to ourselves by

\* Which discourse follows next in this volume.

the grand alliance, the French would not have allowed them? It is plain they offered many more and much greater, than ever we thought to insist on when the war began; and they had reason to grant, as well as we to demand them; since conditions of peace do certainly turn upon events of war. But surely there is some measure to be observed in this; those who have defended the proceedings of our negotiators at the treaty of Gertruydenburg, dwell very much upon their zeal and patience, in endeavouring to work the French up to their demands; but say nothing to justify those demands, or the probability that France would ever accept them. Some of the articles in that treaty were so very extravagant, that, in all human probability we could not have obtained them by a successful war of forty years. One of them was inconsistent with common reason; wherein the confederates reserved to themselves full liberty of demanding what further conditions they should think fit; and in the mean time France was to deliver up several of their strongest towns in a month. These articles were very gravely signed by our plenipotentiaries, and those of Holland; but not by the French, although it ought to have been done interchangeably: nay, they were brought over by the secretary of the embassy; and the ministers here prevailed on the Queen to execute a ratification of articles, which only one part had signed. This was an absurdity in form, as well as in reason; because the usual form of a ratification is with a preamble, shewing *that whereas our ministers, and those of the allies, and of the enemy, have signed, &c. We ratify, &c.* The person \* who brought over the articles said in all companies, (and perhaps believed), that

\* Horatio Walpole, Secretary to that embassy.



it was a pity we had not demanded more ; for the French were in a disposition to refuse us nothing we would ask. One of our plenipotentiaries affected to have the same concern, and particularly, that we had not obtained some further security for the empire on the Upper Rhine.

What could be the design of all this grimace but to amuse the people, and to raise stocks for their friends in the secret to sell to advantage ? I have too great a respect for the abilities of those who acted in this negotiation, to believe they hoped for any other issue from it, than that we found by the event. Give me leave to suppose, the continuance of the war was the thing at heart among those in power, both abroad and at home ; and then I can easily shew the consistency of their proceedings, otherwise they are wholly unaccountable and absurd. Did those who insisted on such wild demands, ever sincerely intend a peace ? Did they really think, that going on with the war was more eligible for their country, than the least abatement of those conditions ? Was the smallest of them worth six millions a-year, and an hundred thousand mens lives ? Was there no way to provide for the safety of Britain, or the security of its trade, but by the French King's turning his arms to beat his own grandson out of Spain ? If these able statesmen were so truly concerned for our trade, which they made the pretence of the war's beginning, as well as continuance ; why did they so neglect it in those very preliminaries, where the enemy made so many concessions, and where all that related to the advantage of Holland, or the other confederates, was expressly settled ? But whatever concerned us was to be left to a general treaty ; no *tariff* agreed on with France or the Low countries, only the Scheld was to remain shut, which must have ruined our commerce with Antwerp. Our trade with Spain was referred the same way ; but this they will pretend

tend to be of no consequence, because that kingdom was to be under the house of Austria, and we have already made a treaty with K. Charles. I have indeed heard of a treaty made by Mr. Stanhope with that prince, for settling our commerce with Spain : But whatever it were, there was another between us and Holland, which went hand in hand with it, I mean that of *barrier*, wherein a clause was inserted, by which all advantages proposed for Britain are to be in common with Holland.

Another point, which I doubt those have not considered, who are against any peace without Spain, is, that the face of affairs in Christendom since the Emperor's death hath been very much changed. By this accident the views and interests of several princes and states in the alliance have taken a new turn, and I believe it will be found that ours ought to do so too. We have sufficiently blundered once already by changing our measures with regard to a peace, while our affairs continued in the same posture ; and it will be too much in conscience to blunder again, by *not* changing the first, when the others are so much altered.

To have a prince of the Austrian family on the throne of Spain, is undoubtedly more desirable than one of the house of Bourbon ; but to have the empire and Spanish monarchy united in the same person, is a dreadful consideration, and directly opposite to that wise principle on which the eighth article of the alliance is founded.

To this perhaps it will be objected, that the indolent character of the Austrian princes, the wretched œconomy of that government, the want of a naval force, the remote distance of their several territories from each other, would never suffer an Emperor, although at the same time King of Spain, to become formidable : On the contrary, that his dependence must continually be on Great Britain



Britain, and the advantages of trade by a peace, founded upon that condition, would soon make us amends for all the expences of the war.

In answer to this, let us consider the circumstances we must be in. before such a peace could be obtained, if it were at all practicable. We must become not only poor for the present, but reduced by further mortgages to a state of beggary for endless years to come. Compare such a weak condition as this with so great an accession of strength to Austria; and then determine how much an Emperor in such a state of affairs, would either fear or need Britain.

Consider that the comparison is not formed between a prince of the house of Austria, Emperor and King of Spain, and with a prince of the Bourbon family, King of France and Spain; but between a prince of the latter only King of Spain, and one of the former uniting both crowns in his own person.

What returns of gratitude can we expect when we are no longer wanted? Hath all that we have hitherto done for the Imperial family been taken as a favour, or only received as the due of the *augustissima cosa*?

Will the house of Austria yield the least acre of land, the least article of strained, and even usurped prerogative, to resettle the minds of those princes in the alliance, who are alarmed at the consequences of this turn of affairs occasioned by the Emperor's death? We are assured it never will. Do we then imagine, that those princes who dread the overgrown power of the Austrian as much as that of the Bourbon family, will continue in our alliance upon a system contrary to that which they engaged with us upon? For instance: what can the Duke of Savoy expect in such a case? Will he have any choice left him but that of being a slave and a frontier to France; or a *vassal*, in the utmost

extent of the word, to the Imperial court? Will he not therefore of the two evils chuse the least; by submitting to a master who hath no immediate claim upon him, and to whose family he is nearly allied; rather than to another who hath already revived several claims upon him, and threatens to revive more?

Nor are the Dutch more inclined than the rest of Europe, that the empire and Spain should be united in K. Charles, whatever they may now pretend. "On the contrary, it is known to several persons, that, upon the death of the late Emperor Joseph, the States resolved, that those two powers should not be joined in the same person;" and this they determined as a fundamental maxim by which they intended to proceed. So that Spain was first given up by *them*; and since they maintain no troops in that kingdom, it should seem that they understand the Duke of Anjou to be lawful monarch.

Thirdly, Those who are against any peace without Spain, if they be such as no way find their private account by the war, may perhaps change their sentiments if they will reflect a little upon our present condition.

I had two reasons for not sooner publishing this discourse; the first was, because I would give way to others who might argue very well upon the same subject from general topics and reason, although they might be ignorant of several facts which I had the opportunity to know. The second was, because I found it would be necessary in the course of this argument, to say something of the state to which the war hath reduced us; at the same time I knew, that such a discovery ought to be made as late as possible, and at another juncture would not only be very indiscreet, but might perhaps be dangerous.

It is the folly of too many to mistake the echo  
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of a London coffeehouse for the voice of the kingdom. The city-coffeehouses have been for some years filled with people whose fortunes depend upon the Bank, East-India, or some other stock. Every new fund to these is like a new mortgage to an usurer, whose compassion for a young heir is exactly the same with that of a stockjobber to the landed gentry. At the court-end of the town the like places of resort are frequented either by men out of place, and consequently enemies to the present ministry, or by officers of the army: no wonder then if the general cry in all such meetings be against any peace either *with* Spain or *without*; which, in other words, is no more than this, that discontented men desire another change of the ministry; that soldiers would be glad to keep their commissions; and that the creditors have money still, and would have the debtors borrow on at the old extorting rate while they have any security to give.

Now, to give the most ignorant reader some idea of our present circumstances, without troubling him or myself with computations in form; every body knows that our land and malt-tax amount annually to about two millions and an half. All other branches of the revenue are mortgaged to pay interest for what we have already borrowed. The yearly charge of the war is usually about six millions; to make up which sum we are forced to take up on the credit of new funds about three millions and an half. This last year the computed charge of the war came to above a million more than all the funds the parliament could contrive were sufficient to pay interest for; and so we have been forced to divide a deficiency of twelve hundred thousand pounds among the several branches of our expence. This is a demonstration that if the war be to last another campaign, it will be impossible to find funds for supplying it without mort-

gaging the malt-tax, or taking some other method equally desperate.

If the peace be made this winter, we are then to consider what circumstances we shall be in towards paying a debt of about fifty millions, which is a sixth part of the purchase of the whole island if it were to be sold.

Towards clearing ourselves of this monstrous incumbrance, some of these annuities will expire, or pay off the principal in thirty, forty, or an hundred years; the bulk of the debt must be lessened gradually by the best management we can, out of what will remain of the land and malt-taxes, after paying guards and garrisons, and maintaining and supplying our fleet in the time of peace. I have not skill enough to compute what will be left after these necessary charges towards annually clearing so vast a debt; but believe it must be very little: however, it is plain that both these taxes must be continued, as well for supporting the government as because we have no other means for paying off the principal. And so likewise must all the other funds remain for paying the interest. How long a time this must require, how steady an administration, and how undisturbed a state of affairs both at home and abroad, let others determine.

However, some people think all this very reasonable; and that since the struggle hath been for peace and safety, posterity, which is to partake the benefit, ought to share in the expence: as if, at the breaking out of this war, there had been such a conjuncture of affairs as never happened before, nor would ever happen again. It is wonderful that our ancestors, in all their wars, should never fall under such a necessity; that we meet no examples of it in Greece and Rome; that no other nation in Europe ever knew any thing like it, except Spain about an hundred and twenty years ago. when they drew it upon themselves by their own folly, and have



have suffered for it ever since ; no doubt we shall teach posterity wisdom, but they will be apt to think the purchase too dear, and I wish they may stand to the bargain we have made in their names.

It is easy to entail debts on succeeding ages, and to hope they will be able and willing to pay them ; but how to ensure peace for any term of years, is difficult enough to apprehend. Will human nature ever cease to have the same passions, princes to entertain designs of interest or ambition, and occasions of quarrel to arise ? May not we ourselves, by the variety of events and incidents which happen in the world, be under a necessity of recovering towns out of the very hands of those for whom we are now ruining our country to take them ? Neither can it be said, that those *states*, with whom we may probably differ, will be in as bad a condition as ourselves ; for, by the circumstances of our situation, and the impositions of our allies, we are more exhausted than either they or the enemy ; and by the nature of our government, the corruption of our manners, and the opposition of factions, we shall be more slow in recovering.

It will, no doubt, be a mighty comfort to our grandchildren, when they see a few rags hung up in Westminster-hall, which cost an hundred millions, whereof they are paying the arrears, to boast as beggars do, that their grandfathers were rich and great.

I have often reflected on that mistaken notion of credit, so boasted of by the advocates of the late ministry : was not all that credit built upon funds raised by the landed men, whom they now so much hate and despise ? Is not the greatest part of those funds raised from the growth and product of land ? must not the whole debt be entirely paid, and our fleets and garrisons be maintained, by the land and malt-tax after a peace ? If they call it credit to run

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ten millions in debt without parliamentary security; by which the public is defrauded of almost half; I must think such credit to be dangerous, illegal, and perhaps treasonable. Neither hath any thing gone further to ruin the nation than their boasted credit. For my own part, when I saw this false credit sink, upon the change of the ministry, I was singular enough to conceive it a good omen. It seemed as if the young extravagant heir had got a new steward, and was resolved to look in to his estate before things grew desperate, which made the usurers forbear feeding him with money, as they used to do.

Since the moneyed men are so fond of war, I should be glad they would furnish out one campaign at their own charge: it is not above six or seven millions; and I dare engage to make it out, that when they have done this, instead of contributing equal to the landed men, they will have their full principal and interest at six *per cent.* remaining of all the money they ever lent to the government.

Without this resource, or some other equally miraculous, it is impossible for us to continue the war upon the same foot. I have already observed that the last funds of interest fell short above a million, although the persons most conversant in ways and means employed their utmost invention; so that of necessity we must be still more defective next campaign. But perhaps our allies will make up this deficiency on our side by greater efforts on their own. Quite the contrary; both the Emperor and Holland failed this year in several articles; and signified to us some time ago, that they cannot keep up to the same proportions in the next. We have gained a noble barrier for the latter, and they have nothing more to demand or desire. The Emperor, however sanguine he may now affect to appear, will, I suppose, be satisfied with Naples, Sicily,



cily, Milan, and his other acquisitions, rather than engage in a long hopeless war, for the recovery of Spain, to which his allies the Dutch will neither give their assistance, nor consent. So that since we have done their business, since they have no further service for our arms, and we have no more money to give them; and lastly, since we neither desire any recompence, nor expect any thanks, we ought in pity to be dismissed, and have leave to shift for ourselves. They are ripe for a peace, to enjoy and cultivate what we have conquered for them; and so are we to recover, if possible, the effects of their hardships upon us. The first overtures from France are made to England upon safe and honourable terms; we who bore the burthen of the war, ought in reason to have the greatest share in making the peace. If we do not hearken to a peace, others certainly will, and get the advantage of us there, as they have done in the war. We know the Dutch have perpetually threatened us, that they would enter into separate measures of a peace; and by the strength of that argument, as well as by *other powerful motives*, prevailed on those who were then at the helm, to comply with them on any terms, rather than put an end to a war, which every year brought them such great accessions to their wealth and power. Whoever falls off, a peace will follow; and then we must be content with such conditions as our allies, out of their great concern for our safety and interest, will please to chuse. They have no farther occasion for fighting, they have gained their point, and they now tell us it is *our war*; so that in common justice it ought to be *our peace*.

All we can propose by the desperate steps of pawning our land or malt-tax, or erecting a general excise, is only to raise a fund of interest for running us annually four millions further in debt, without any prospect of ending the war so well as

we

we can do at present. And when we have sunk the only unengaged revenues we had left, our incumbrances must of necessity remain perpetual.

We have hitherto lived upon expedients which in time will certainly destroy any constitution, whether civil or natural; and there was no country in Christendom had less occasion for them than ours. We have dieted a healthy body into a consumption, by plying it with physic instead of food. Art will help us no longer, and if we cannot recover by letting the remains of nature work, we must inevitably die.

What arts have been used to possess the people with a strong delusion, that Britain must infallibly be ruined, without the recovery of Spain to the house of Austria? making the safety of a great and powerful kingdom as ours was then to depend upon an event, which even after a war of miraculous successes proves impracticable. As if princes and great ministers could find no way of settling the public tranquillity without changing the possessions of kingdoms, and forcing sovereigns upon a people against their inclinations. Is there no security for the island of Britain, unless a King of Spain be dethroned by the hands of his grandfather? Has the enemy no cautionary towns and sea-ports to give us for securing trade? Can he not deliver us possession of such places as would put him in a worse condition, whenever he should perfidiously renew the war? The present King of France has but few years to live by the course of nature, and doubtless would desire to end his days in peace. Grandfathers in private families are not observed to have great influence on their grandsons; and, I believe, they have much less among princes; however when the authority of a parent is gone, is it likely that Philip will be directed by a brother against his own interest, and that of his subjects? Have not those two realms their separate maxims of policy, which must



must operate in times of peace? These at least are probabilities, and cheaper by six millions a-year than recovering Spain, or continuing the war, both which seem absolutely impossible.

But the common question is, if we must now surrender Spain, what have we been fighting for all this while? The answer is ready, We have been fighting for the ruin of the public interest, and the advancement of a private. We have been fighting to raise the wealth and grandeur of a particular family; to enrich usurers and stockjobbers, and to cultivate the pernicious designs of a faction by destroying the landed interest. The nation begins now to think these  *blessings*  are not worth fighting for any longer, and therefore desires a peace.

But the advocates on the other side cry out, that we might have had a better peace, than is now in agitation, above two years ago. Supposing this to be true, I do assert, that, by parity of reason, we must expect one just so much the worse about two years hence. If those in power could then have given us a better peace, more is their infamy and guilt, that they did it not. Why did they insist upon conditions, which they were certain would never be granted? We allow, it was in their power to have put a good end to the war, and left the nation in some hope of recovering itself. And this is what we charge them with as answerable to God, their country, and posterity, that the bleeding condition of their fellow-subjects was a feather in the balance with their private ends.

When we offer to lament the heavy debts and poverty of the nation, it is pleasant to hear some men answer all that can be said, by crying up the power of England, the courage of England, the inexhaustible riches of England. I have heard a man \* very sanguine upon this subject, with a good

\* The late Lord Halifax.

employment for life, and a hundred thousand pounds in the funds, bidding us *take courage*, and *warranting that all would go well*. This is the style of men at ease, *who lay heavy burdens upon others, which they would not touch with one of their fingers*. I have known some people such ill computers, as to imagine the many millions in stocks and annuities are so much real wealth in the nation; whereas every farthing of it is entirely lost to us, scattered in Holland, Germany, and Spain; and the landed men, who now pay the interest, must at last pay the principal.

Fourthly, Those who are against any peace without Spain, have, doubt, been ill informed as to the low condition of France, and the mighty consequences of our successes. As to the first, it must be confessed, that, after the battle of Ramillies, the French were so discouraged with their frequent losses, and so impatient for a peace, that their King was resolved to comply upon any reasonable terms. But when his subjects were informed of our exorbitant demands, they grew jealous of his honour, and were unanimous to assist him in continuing the war at any hazard, rather than submit. This fully restored his authority; and the supplies he hath received from the Spanish West-Indies, which in all are computed, since the war, to amount to four hundred millions of livres, and all in *specie*, have enabled him to pay his troops. Besides, the money is spent in his own country; and he hath since waged war in the most thrifty manner by acting on the defensive; compounding with us every campaign for a town, which costs us fifty times more than it is worth, either as to the value, or the consequences. Then he is at no charge for a fleet, further than providing privateers, wherewith his subjects carry on a piratical war at their own expence, and he shares in the profit; which hath been very considerable to  
France,



France, and of infinite disadvantage to us, not only by the perpetual losses we have suffered, to an immense value, but by the general discouragement of trade, on which we so much depend. All this considered, with the circumstances of that government, where the prince is master of the lives and fortunes of so mighty a kingdom, shews that monarch not to be so sunk in his affairs as we have imagined, and have long flattered ourselves with the hopes of.

Those who are against *any peace without Spain*, seem likewise to have been mistaken in judging our victories, and other successes, to have been of greater consequence than they really were.

When our armies take a town in Flanders, the Dutch are immediately put into *possession*, and we at home make *bonfires*. I have sometimes pitied the deluded people to see them squandering away their fewel to so little purpose. For example: what is it to us that Bouchain is taken, about which the warlike politicians of the coffeehouse make such a clutter? What though the garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and in sight of the enemy? We are not now in a condition to be fed with points of honour: What advantage have we, but that of spending three or four millions more to get another town for the States, which may open them a new country for *contributions*, and increase the perquisites of the general?

In that war of ten years under the late King, when our commanders and soldiers were raw and unexperienced, in comparison of what they are at present, we lost battles and towns, as well as we gained them of late, since those gentlemen have better learned their trade; yet we bore up then, as the French do now: nor was there any thing decisive in their successes; they grew weary as well as we, and at last consented to a peace, under which we might have been happy enough, if it had not

been followed by that wise *treaty of partition*, which revived the flame that hath lasted ever since. I see nothing else in the modern way of making war, but that the side which can hold out longest, will end it with most advantage. In such a close country as Flanders, where it is carried on by sieges, the army that acts offensively is at a much greater expence of men and money; and there is hardly a town taken, in the common forms, where the besiegers have not the worse of the bargain. I never yet knew a soldier, who would not affirm, that any town might be taken, if you were content to be at the charge. If you will count upon sacrificing so much blood and treasure, the rest is all a regular, established method, which cannot fail. When the King of France, in the times of his grandeur, sat down before a town, his generals and engineers would often fix the day when it should surrender: the enemy, sensible of all this, hath, for some years past avoided a battle, where he hath so ill succeeded, and taken a surer way to consume us by letting our courage evaporate against stones and rubbish, and sacrificing a single town to a campaign, which he can so much better afford to lose, than we to take.

*Lastly*, Those who are so violently against *any peace* without Spain being restored to the house of Austria, have not, I believe, cast their eye upon a cloud gathering in the north, which we have helped to raise, and may quickly break in a storm upon our heads.

The northern war hath been on foot almost ever since our breach with France. The success of it is various; but one effect to be apprehended was always the same, that sooner or later it would involve us in its consequences; and that whenever this happened, let our success be never so great against France, from that moment France would have the advantage.

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By our guarantee of the treaty of Travendall, we were obliged to hinder the King of Denmark from engaging in a war with Sweden. It was at that time understood by all parties, and so declared, even by the British ministers, that this engagement specially regarded Denmark's not assisting King Augustus. But however, if this had not been so, yet our obligation to Sweden stood in force by virtue of former treaties with that crown, which were all revived and confirmed by a subsequent one, concluded at the Hague by Sir Joseph Williamson, and Monsieur Lilienroot, about the latter end of the King's reign.

However, the war in the north proceeded; and our not assisting Sweden was at least as well excused by the war which we were entangled in, as his not contributing his contingent to the empire, whereof he is a member, was excused by the pressures he lay under, having a confederacy to deal with.

In this war the King of Sweden was victorious; and what dangers were we not then exposed to? what fears were we not in? He marched into Saxony, and if he had really been in the French interest, might at once have put us under the greatest difficulties. But the torrent turned another way, and he contented himself with imposing on his enemy the treaty of Alt Rastadt; by which K. Augustus makes an absolute cession of the crown of Poland, renounces any title to it, acknowledges Stanislaus; and then both he and the K. of Sweden join in desiring the guarantee of England and Holland. The Queen did not indeed give this guarantee in form; but as a step towards it, the title of *King* was given to Stanislaus by a letter from her Majesty; and the strongest assurances were given to the Swedish minister, in her Majesty's name, and in a committee of council, that the guarantee should speedily be granted; and that in the mean  
while

while it was the same thing as if the forms were passed.

In 1708 K. Augustus made the campaign in Flanders: what measures he might at that time take, or of what nature the arguments might be that he made use of, is not known: but immediately after he breaks through all he had done, marches into Poland, and reassumes the crown.

After this we apprehended, that the peace of the empire might be endangered; and therefore entered into an act of guarantee for the neutrality of it. The King of Sweden refused upon several accounts to submit to the terms of this treaty; particularly because we went out of the empire to cover Poland and Jutland, but did not go out of it to cover the territories of Sweden.

Let us therefore consider what is our case at present. If the King of Sweden return and get the better, he will think himself under no obligation of having any regards to the interests of the allies; but will naturally pursue, according to his own expression, *his enemy wherever he finds him*. In this case the *corps* of the neutrality is obliged to oppose him; and so we are engaged in a second war, before the first be ended.

If the northern confederates succeed against Sweden, how shall we be able to preserve the balance of power in the north, so essential to our trade as well as in many other respects? What will become of that great support of the *Protestant interest* in Germany, which is the footing that the Swedes now have in the empire? Or who shall answer, that these princes, after they have settled the north to their minds, may not take a fancy to look southward, and make their peace with France according to their own schemes?

And lastly, if the King of Prussia, the Elector of Hanover, and other princes, whose dominions lie contiguous, be forced to draw from those armies



mies which act against France, we must live in hourly expectation of having those troops recalled, which they now leave with us ; and this recall may happen in the midst of a siege, or on the eve of a battle. Is it therefore our interest to toil on in a ruinous war for an impracticable end, till one of these cases shall happen, or to get under shelter before the storm ?

There is no doubt but the present ministry (provided they could get over the obligations of honour and conscience) might find their advantage in advising the continuance of the war, as well as the last did, although not in the same degree after the kingdom hath been so much exhausted. They might prolong it, till the parliament desire a peace ; and in the mean time leave them in full possession of power. Therefore it is plain, that their proceedings at present are meant to serve their country directly against their private interest ; whatever clamour may be raised by those, who for the vilest ends would remove heaven and earth to oppose their measures. But they think it infinitely better to accept such terms as will secure our trade, find a sufficient barrier for the States, give *reasonable satisfaction* to the Emperor, and restore the tranquillity of Europe, although without adding Spain to the empire ; rather than go in a languishing way, upon the vain expectation of some improbable turn for the recovery of that monarchy out of the Bourbon family ; and at last be forced to a worse peace, by some of the allies falling off upon our utter inability to continue the war.

Some

Some Remarks on the BARRIER-TREATY  
between her *Majesty* and the STATES-  
GENERAL.

To which are added, The said BARRIER-TREATY,  
with the two separate articles; Part of the Coun-  
ter-project; The sentiments of Prince Eugene  
and Count Sinzendorf upon the said treaty;  
and, A representation of the English merchants  
at Bruges.

Written in the year 1712.

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P R E F A C E.

WHEN I published the discourse, called, *The Conduct of the Allies*, I had thoughts either of inserting or annexing the Barrier-treaty at length, with such observations as I conceived might be useful for public information: but that discourse taking up more room than I designed, after my utmost endeavours to abbreviate it, I contented myself only with making some few reflections upon that *famous treaty*, sufficient, as I thought, to answer the design of my book. I have since heard, that my readers in general seemed to wish I had been more particular, and have discovered an impatience to have that treaty made public, especially since it hath been laid before the *house of Commons*.

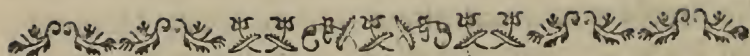
That I may give some light to the reader, who is not well versed in those affairs, he may please to know,



know, that a project for a treaty of barrier with the States was transmitted hither from Holland; but being disapproved of by our court in several parts, a new project or scheme of a treaty was drawn up here, with many additions and alterations. This last was called the *counter-project*; and was the measure, whereby the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Townshend were commanded and instructed to proceed in negotiating a *treaty of barrier* with the States.

I have added a translation of this *counter-project* in those articles where it differs from the *barrier-treaty*, that the reader, by comparing them together, may judge how punctually those negotiators observed their instructions. I have likewise subjoined the sentiments of Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the Count de Sinzendorf, relating to this treaty, written, I suppose, while it was negotiating. And, lastly, I have added a copy of the representation of the British merchants at Bruges, signifying what inconveniencies they already felt and further apprehended from this *barrier-treaty*.





Some Remarks on the BARRIER-TREATY,  
 &c. \*

IMAGINE a reasonable person in China reading the following treaty, and one who was ignorant of our affairs, or our geography: he would conceive their High Mightinesses the States-General to be some vast powerful commonwealth, like that of Rome; and HER MAJESTY to be a petty prince, like

\* Dr. Swift commenced the champion of Queen Anne's Tory ministry as early as the month of November 1710, under the title of *The Examiner*. Beside which he wrote several other papers in defence of the Queen, the constitution, and the ministry; particularly *Some advice to the members of the October club*; *The conduct of the allies*; *Remarks on the barrier treaty*; *The public spirit of the Whigs*, (a treatise wherein we may observe how well the Doctor was acquainted with the several interests and designs of all the princes in Europe); *The preface to the Bishop of Sarum's introduction*; and, *Some free thoughts on the present state of affairs*. These are a course of writings not to be considered in the light of *occasional pamphlets*, or little paltry journals, thrown into the world by some *hackney jade*, in the defence of *corruption*, and to serve the iniquitous designs of a party. No; these writings are to be considered, and read over and over again, as lectures of true, unprejudiced, constitutional politics, calculated to expose the enemies of the public, and to maintain at once the honour of the crown, and the liberties of the people of England. I cannot but think, whoever is totally unacquainted with these political tracts, might be tempted to revise them carefully, were it only for the sake of extracting some points of history, which, to many thousands of the present age, are somewhat more than paradoxes.——Whoever pretends to write the history of Queen Anne's reign, without revising diligently the works of this great author, will produce nothing better than some lame, partial, insignificant Grubstreet performance, like the rest of those vile accounts which have already, in defiance of truth, been imposed upon the world. I am sure the present generation of men, that is, the present generation of *landed men*, who are in fact the only proprietors of the whole kingdom, feel it to their cost, that Swift's reasonings are just, and that all his accounts are true.



like one of those to whom that republic would sometimes send a diadem for a present, when they behaved themselves well, otherwise could depose at pleasure, and place whom they thought fit in his stead. Such a man would think, that the States had taken our prince and us into their *protection*; and in return honoured us so far, as to make use of our troops as some small assistance in their conquests, and the enlargement of their empire, or to prevent the incursions of barbarians upon some of their outlying provinces. But how must it sound in an European ear, that Great Britain, after maintaining a war for so many years, with so much glory and success, and such prodigious expence, after saving the Empire, Holland, and Portugal, and almost recovering Spain, should, towards the close of a war, enter into a treaty with seven Dutch provinces, to secure to them a dominion larger than their own, which she had conquered for them; to undertake for a great deal more without stipulating the least advantage for herself; and accept, as an equivalent, the mean condition of those States assisting to preserve her Queen on the throne, whom by God's assistance she is able to defend against all her Majesty's *enemies* and *allies* put together?

Such a wild bargain could never have been made for us, if the States had not found it their interest to use very powerful motives with the chief advisers, (I say nothing of the person immediately employed); and if a party here at home had not been resolved, for ends and purposes very well known,

true. *Swift*. ——— Mr. Swift thinks the Dean's political tracts should have been ranged in his works in the order in which he has mentioned them; and that his several poems relative to those times, and which in truth greatly illustrate his political tracts, ought to be read in the following order, viz. *The virtues of Sir Hamet the magician's red*; *The fable of Midas*; *Atlas, or, The minister of state*; *Horace, epist. 7. book 1. imitated, and addressed to the Earl of Oxford*; *Horace, sat. 6. book 2. part of it imitated*; *The author on himself*; *The faggot*; *To the Earl of Oxford in the tower*.

to continue the war as long as they had any occasion for it.

The *counter-project* of this treaty made here at London was bad enough in all conscience: I have said something of it in the *preface*; her Majesty's ministers were instructed to proceed by it in their negotiation. There was one point in that project, which would have been of consequence to Britain, and one or two more where the advantages of the States were not so very exorbitant, and where some care was taken of the house of Austria. Is it possible, that *our good allies and friends* could not be brought to any terms with us, unless by striking at every particular that might do us any good, and adding still more to those whereby so much was already granted? For instance, the article about demolishing of Dunkirk surely might have remained; which was of some benefit to the States, as well as of mighty advantage to us; and which the French King hath lately yielded in one of his preliminaries, although clogged with the demand of an equivalent, which will owe its difficulty only to this treaty.

But let me now consider the treaty itself. Among the one and twenty articles, of which it consists, only two have any relation to us, importing that the Dutch are to be guarantees of our succession, and are not to enter into any treaty until the Queen is acknowledged by France. We know very well, that it is in consequence the interest of the States, as much as ours, that Britain should be governed by a *Protestant* prince. Besides, what is there more in this guarantee, than in all common leagues offensive and defensive, between two powers, where each is obliged to defend the other against any invader with all their strength? Such was the grand alliance between the Emperor, Britain, and Holland; which was, or ought to have been, as good a guarantee of our succession to all intents and purposes,



poses, as this in the *barrier-treaty*. And the mutual engagements in such alliances have been always reckoned sufficient without any separate benefit to either party.

It is, no doubt, for the interest of Britain, that the States should have a sufficient barrier against France ; but their High Mightinesses, for some few years past, have put a different meaning upon the word *barrier*, from what it formerly used to bear when applied to them. When the late King was Prince of Orange, and commanded their armies against France, it was never once imagined, that any of the towns taken should belong to the Dutch ; they were all immediately delivered up to their lawful monarch ; and Flanders was only a *barrier*, to Holland, as it was in the hands of Spain, rather than France. So in the grand alliance of 1701, the several powers promising to endeavour to recover Flanders for a barrier, was understood to be the recovering those provinces to the King of Spain ; but in this treaty the style is wholly changed : here are about twenty towns and forts of great importance, with their chatellanies and dependencies, (which dependencies are likewise to be enlarged as much as possible), and the whole revenues of them to be under the perpetual military government of the Dutch, by which that republic will be entirely masters of the richest part of all Flanders ; and upon any appearance of war they may put their garrisons into any other place of the Low Countries ; and farther, the King of Spain is to give them a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a-year to enable them to maintain those garrisons.

Why should we wonder that the Dutch are inclined to perpetuate the war, when by an article in this treaty the King of Spain “ is not to possess  
“ one single town in the Low Countries, until a  
“ peace

" peace be made." The Duke of Anjou, at the beginning of this war, maintained six and thirty thousand men out of those Spanish provinces he then possessed: to which if we add the many towns since taken, which were not in the late King of Spain's possession at the time of his death, with all their territories and dependencies; it is visible what forces the States may be able to keep, even without any charge to their peculiar dominions.

The towns and chatellanies of this barrier always maintained their garrisons, when they were in the hands of France; and, as it is reported, returned a considerable sum of money into the King's coffers; yet the King of Spain is obliged by this treaty (as we have already observed) to add over and above a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a-year. We know likewise, that a great part of the revenue of the Spanish Netherlands is already pawned to the States; so that after a peace nothing will be left to the sovereign, nor will the people be much eased of the taxes they at present labour under.

Thus the States, by virtue of this *barrier-treaty*, will in effect be absolute sovereigns of all Flanders, and of the whole revenues in the utmost extent.

And here I cannot without some contempt take notice of a sort of reasoning offered by several people; that the many towns we have taken for the Dutch are of no advantage, because the whole revenues of those towns are spent in maintaining them. For, first, the fact is manifestly false, particularly as to Lisle and some others. Secondly, the States after a peace are to have four hundred thousand crowns a-year out of the remainder of Flanders, which is then to be left to Spain. And lastly, suppose all these acquired dominions will not bring a penny into their treasury, what can be of greater conse-



consequence, than to be able to maintain a mighty army out of their new conquests, which before they always did by taxing their natural subjects?

How shall we be able to answer it to K. Charles III. that while we pretend to endeavour restoring him to the entire monarchy of Spain, we join at the same time with the Dutch to deprive him of his natural right to the Low Countries?

But suppose by a Dutch barrier must now be understood only what is to be in possession of the States; yet, even under this acceptation of the word, nothing was originally meant except a *barrier* against France; whereas several towns demanded by the Dutch in this treaty can be of no use at all in such a *barrier*. And this is the sentiment even of Prince Eugene himself, (the present oracle and idol of the party here), who says, “that Dendermond, Ostend, and the castle of Gand, do in no fort belong to the barrier; nor can be of other use, than to make the States-General masters of the Low Countries, and hinder their trade with England.” And further, “that those who are acquainted with the country know very well, that to *fortify* Lier and Halle can give no security to the States as a barrier, but only raise a jealousy in the people, that those places are only fortified in order to block up Brussels, and the other great towns of Brabant.”

In those towns of Flanders where the Dutch are to have garrisons, but the ecclesiastical and civil power to remain to the King of Spain after a peace, the States have power to send arms, ammunition, and victuals, without paying customs; under which pretence they will engross the whole trade of those towns, exclusive of all other nations.

This Prince Eugene likewise foresaw; and in his observations upon this treaty, here annexed, proposed a remedy for it.

And

And if the Dutch shall please to think, that the whole Spanish Netherlands are not a sufficient *barrier* for them, I know no remedy from the words of this treaty, but that we must still go on and conquer for them as long as they please. For the Queen is obliged, whenever a peace is treated, to procure for them *whatever shall be thought necessary* besides; and where their necessity will terminate, is not very easy to foresee.

Could any of her Majesty's subjects conceive, that in those very towns we have taken for the Dutch, and given into their possession as a *barrier*, either the States should demand, or our *ministers* allow, that the subjects of Britain should, in respect to their trade, be used worse than they were under the late King of Spain? yet this is the fact, as monstrous as it appears: all goods going to or coming from Newport or Ostend are to pay the same duties, as those that pass by the Scheld under the Dutch forts: and this in effect is to shut out all other nations from trading to Flanders. The English merchants at Bruges complain, that "after  
 " they have paid the King of Spain's duty for  
 " goods imported at Ostend, the same goods are  
 " made liable to further duties, when they are car-  
 " ried from thence into the towns of the Dutch  
 " new conquests; *and desire only* the same privileges  
 " of trade they had before the death of the late  
 " King of Spain, Charles II." And in consequence of this treaty, the Dutch have already taken off eight *per cent.* from all goods they send to the Spanish Flanders, but left it still upon us.

But what is very surprising, in the very same article, where *our good friends and allies* are wholly shutting us out from trading in those towns we have conquered for them with so much blood and treasure, the Queen is obliged to procure, that the States shall be used as favourably in their trade over  
 all



all the King of Spain's dominions, as her own subjects, or as *the people most favoured*. This I humbly conceive to be perfect boys play; *Cross I win, and pile you lose* \*; or, *What's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own*. Now, if it should happen, that in a treaty of peace some ports or towns should be yielded us for the security of our trade, in any part of the Spanish dominions at how great a distance soever, I suppose the Dutch would go on with their boys play, and *challenge half* by virtue of that article: or would they be content with the military government and the revenues, and reckon them among *what shall be thought necessary* for their barrier?

This prodigious article is introduced as subsequent to the treaty of Munster made about the year 1648, at a time when England was in the utmost confusion, and very much to our disadvantage. Those parts in that treaty, so unjust in themselves and so prejudicial to our trade, ought in reason to have been remitted rather than confirmed upon us for the time to come. But this is Dutch partnership; to share in all our *beneficial bargains*, and exclude us wholly from theirs, even from those which we have got for them.

In one part of *The conduct of the allies*, &c. among other remarks upon this treaty, I make it a question, whether it were right in point of policy or prudence to call in a foreign power to be a guarantee to our succession; because by that means “we put it out of the power of our legislature to alter the succession, how much soever the necessity of the kingdom may require it?” To comply with the cautions of some people, I explained *my*

\* The two sides of our coin were once distinguished by *cross* and *pile*, as they are now by *heads* and *tails*.

*meaning in the following editions.* I was assured, that my Lord Chief Justice affirmed, that passage was treason. One of my answerers, I think, decides as favourably; and I am told, that paragraph was read very lately, during a debate, with a comment in very injurious terms, which perhaps might have been spared. That the legislature should have power to change the succession, whenever the necessities of the kingdom require, is so very useful towards preserving our religion and liberty, that I know not how to recant. The worst of this opinion is, that at first sight it appears to be *Whiggish*; but the distinction is thus: the *Whigs* are for changing the succession when they think fit, although the entire legislature do not consent; I think it ought never to be done but upon great necessity, and that with the sanction of the whole legislature. Do these gentlemen of revolution-principles think it impossible, that we should ever have occasion again to change our succession? And if such an accident should fall out, must we have no remedy until the seven provinces will give their consent? Suppose that this virulent party among us were as able, as some are willing, to raise a rebellion for reinstating them in power, and would apply themselves to the Dutch as guarantees of our succession to assist them with all their force, under pretence that the Queen and ministry, a great majority of both houses, and the bulk of the people, were for bringing over France, Popery, and the pretender? Their High Mightinesses would, as I take it, be sole judges of the controversy, and probably decide it so well, that in some time we might have the happiness of becoming a province to Holland. I am humbly of opinion, that there are two qualities necessary to a reader before his judgment should be allowed; these are, common honesty, and common sense; and that no man could have misrepresented that para-



paragraph in my discourse, unless he were utterly destitute of one or both.

The presumptive successor, and her immediate heirs, have so established a reputation in the world for their piety, wisdom, and humanity, that no necessity of this kind is like to appear in their days : But I must still insist, that it is a diminution to the independency of the imperial crown of Great Britain, to call at every door for help to put her laws in execution. And we ought to consider, that if in ages to come such a prince should happen to be in succession to our throne, who should be intirely unable to govern; that very motive might incline our guarantees to support him, the more effectually to bring the rivals of their trade into confusion and disorder.

But to return : The Queen is here put under the unreasonable obligation of being guarantee of the whole barrier treaty ; of the Dutch having possession of the said barrier, and the revenues thereof before a peace ; of the payment of four hundred thousand crowns by the King of Spain ; that the States shall possess their barrier, even before K. Charles is in possession of the Spanish Netherlands ; although by the fifth article of the grand alliance her Majesty is under no obligation to do any thing of this nature, except in a general treaty.

All kings, princes, and states are invited to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution. This article, though very frequent in treaties, seems to look very oddly in that of the barrier. Popish princes are here invited among others to become guarantees of our Protestant succession ; every petty prince in Germany must be intreated to preserve the Queen of Great Britain upon her throne. The King of Spain is invited particularly, and by

name, to become guarantee of the execution of a treaty, by which his allies, who pretend to fight his battles and recover his dominions, strip him in effect of all his ten provinces; a clear reason why they never sent any forces to Spain, and why the obligation, not to enter into a treaty of peace with France until that intire monarchy was yielded as a preliminary, was struck out of the counter-project by the Dutch. They fought only in Flanders, because there they only fought for themselves. King Charles must needs accept this invitation very kindly, and stand by with great satisfaction, while the Belgic lion divides the prey, and assigns it all to himself. I remember there was a parcel of soldiers, who robbed a farmer of his poultry, and then made him wait at table, while they devoured his victuals without giving him a morsel; and upon his expostulating, had only for answer, Why, Sirrah, are we not come here to protect you? And thus much for this generous invitation to all kings and princes to lend their assistance and become guarantees out of pure good nature for securing Flanders to the Dutch.

In the treaty of Ryswic no care was taken to oblige the French King to acknowledge the right of succession in her present Majesty; for want of which point being then settled, France refused to acknowledge her for Queen of Great Britain after the late King's death. This unaccountable neglect (if it were a neglect) is here called an omission, and care is taken to supply it in the next general treaty of peace \*. I mention this occasionally, because I have some stubborn doubts within me, whether it were a wilful omission or no. Neither do I herein reflect in the least upon the memory of his late Majesty, whom I intirely acquit of any imputation upon this matter. But when I recollect the beha-

\* Article XX.



viour, the language, and the principles of some certain persons in those days, and compare them with that omission ; I am tempted to draw some conclusions, which a certain party would be more ready to call false and malicious, than to prove them so.

I must here take leave (because it will not otherwise fall in my way) to say a few words in return to a gentleman, I know not of what character or calling, who hath done me the honour to write three discourses against that treatise of *The conduct of the allies*, &c. and promises, for my comfort, to conclude all in a fourth. I pity answerers with all my heart, for the many disadvantages they lie under. My book did a world of mischief (as he calls it) before his first part could possibly come out ; and so went on through the kingdom, while his limped slowly after ; and if it arrived at all, it was too late ; for people's opinions were already fixed. His manner of answering me is thus : Of those facts which he pretends to examine, some he resolutely denies, others he endeavours to extenuate, and the rest he distorts with such unnatural turns, that I would engage by the same method to disprove any history either ancient or modern. Then the whole is interlarded with a thousand injurious epithets and appellations, which heavy writers are forced to make use of, as a supply for that want of spirit and genius they are not born to : Yet after all he allows a very great point, for which I contend, confessing in plain words, that the burden of the war hath chiefly lain upon us ; and thinks it sufficient for the Dutch, that next to England they have borne the greatest share. And is not this the great grievance of which the whole kingdom complains ? I am inclined to think, that my intelligence was at least as good as his ; and some of it, I can assure him, came from persons of his own party, although perhaps not altogether so inflamed.

ed. Hitherto therefore the matter is pretty equal, and the world may believe him or me as they please. But I think the great point of controversy between us is, Whether the effects and consequences of things follow better from his premisses or mine? And there I will not be satisfied, unless he will allow the whole advantage to be on my side. Here is a flourishing kingdom brought to the brink of ruin by a most successful and glorious war of ten years, under an able, diligent, and loyal ministry, a most faithful, just, and generous commander, and in conjunction with the most hearty, reasonable, and sincere allies. This is the case, as that author represents it. I have heard a story, I think it was of the Duke of \*\*\*, who playing at hazard at the Groom-porter's in much company, held in a great many hands together, and drew a huge heap of gold; but, in the heat of play, never observed a sharper who came once or twice under his arm, and swept a great deal of it into his hat; the company thought it had been one of his servants. When the Duke's hand was out, they were talking how much he had won. Yes, said he, I held in very long; yet methinks I have won but very little. They told him his servant had got the rest in his hat; and then he found he was cheated.

It hath been my good fortune to see the most important facts that I have advanced justified by the public voice; which let this author do what he can, will incline the world to believe, that I may be right in the rest. And I solemnly declare, that I have not wilfully committed the least mistake. I stopt the second edition, and made all possible inquiries among those who I thought could best inform me, in order to correct any error I could hear of; I did the same to the third and fourth editions, and then left the printer to his liberty.

This



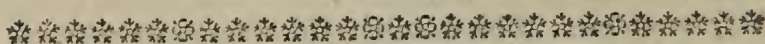
This I take for a more effectual answer to all cavils, than an hundred pages of controversy.

But what disgusts me from having any thing to do with this race of answer-jobbers, is, that they have no sort of conscience in their dealings. To give one instance in this gentleman's third part, which I have been lately looking into : When I talk of the most petty princes, he says, that I meant crowned heads; when I say the soldiers of those petty princes are ready to rob or starve at home, he says I call kings and crowned heads robbers and highwaymen. This is what the *Whigs* call answering a book.

I cannot omit one particular concerning this author, who is so positive in asserting his own facts and contradicting mine ; he affirms, that the business of Thoulon was discovered by the clerk of a certain great man, who was then secretary of state. It is neither wise nor for the credit of his party to put us in mind of that secretary, or of that clerk; however, so it happens, that nothing relating to the affair of Thoulon did ever pass through that secretary's office : Which I here affirm with great phlegm, leaving the epithets of false, scandalous, villanous, and the rest, to the author and his fellows.

But to leave this author : Let us consider the consequence of our triumphs, upon which some set so great a value as to think, that nothing less than the crown can be a sufficient reward for the merit of the general. We have not enlarged our dominions by one foot of land : Our trade, which made us considerable in the world, is either given up by treaties, or clogged with duties, which interrupt and daily lessen it. We see the whole nation groaning under excessive taxes of all sorts, to raise three millions of money for payment of the interest of those debts we have contracted. Let us look upon the reverse of the medal ; we shall see our neighbours

bours, who in their utmost distress called for our assistance, become by this treaty, even in time of peace, masters of a more considerable country than their own ; in a condition to strike terror into us, with fifty thousand *veterans* ready to invade us from that country, which we have conquered for them ; and to commit insolent hostilities upon us in all other parts, as they have lately done in the East-Indies.



### THE BARRIER-TREATY BETWEEN HER MAJESTY AND THE STATES-GENERAL.

“ HER Majesty the QUEEN of Great Britain,  
 “ and the Lords the States-General of the  
 “ United Provinces, having considered how much  
 “ it concerns the quiet and security of their king-  
 “ doms and states, and the public tranquillity, to  
 “ maintain and to secure on one side, the succe-  
 “ sion to the crown of Great Britain in such man-  
 “ ner as it is now established by the laws of the  
 “ kingdom ; and on the other side, that the States-  
 “ General of the United Provinces should have a  
 “ strong and sufficient barrier against France and  
 “ others who would surprize or attack them : And  
 “ her Majesty and the said States-General appre-  
 “ hending with just reason the troubles and the  
 “ mischiefs which may happen in relation to this  
 “ succession, if at any time there should be any per-  
 “ son, or any power, who should call it in question ;  
 “ and that the countries and states of the said  
 “ Lords the States-General were not furnished  
 “ with such a barrier : For these said reasons her  
 “ said Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, al-  
 “ though in the vigour of her age, and enjoying  
 “ perfect



“ perfect health (in which may God preserve her  
 “ many years), out of an effect of her usual pru-  
 “ dence and piety, has thought fit to enter with  
 “ the Lords the States-General of the United Pro-  
 “ vinces into a particular alliance and confederacy;  
 “ the principal end and only aim of which shall  
 “ be the public quiet and tranquillity; and to pre-  
 “ vent, by measures taken in time, all the events,  
 “ which might one day excite new war. It is with  
 “ this view, that her British Majesty has given her  
 “ full power to agree upon some articles of a  
 “ treaty, in addition to the treaties and alliances  
 “ that she hath already with the Lords the States-  
 “ General of the United Provinces, to her ambaf-  
 “ sador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, Charles  
 “ Viscount Townshend, Baron of Lyne-Regis,  
 “ Privy Counsellor to her British Majesty, Cap-  
 “ tain of her said Majesty’s Yeomen of the Guard,  
 “ and her Lieutenant in the county of Norfolk;  
 “ and the Lords the States-General of the United  
 “ Provinces, the Sieurs John de Welderen Lord  
 “ of Valburgh, Great Bailiff of the Lower Be-  
 “ tewe, of the body of the nobility of the pro-  
 “ vince of Guelder; Frederic Baron of Reede,  
 “ Lord of Lier, St. Anthony, and T’er Lee, of  
 “ the order of the nobility of the province of  
 “ Holland and West-Friezeland; Anthony Hein-  
 “ sius, Counsellor-Pensionary of the province of  
 “ Holland and West-Friezeland, Keeper of the  
 “ Great Seal, and Superintendant of the fiefs of the  
 “ same province; Cornelius Van Gheet, Lord of  
 “ Spranbrook, Bulkesteijn, &c.; Gedeon Hoeuft,  
 “ Canon of the chapter of the church of St. Pe-  
 “ ter at Utrecht, and elected Counsellor in  
 “ the states of the province of Utrecht; Hassel  
 “ Van Sminia, Secretary of the chamber of the  
 “ accounts of the province of Friezeland; Ernest  
 “ Ittersum, Lord of Osterbos, of the body of the  
 “ nobility of the province of Overijssel; and Wicher  
 Vol. II, L 1 “ Wichers,

“ Wichers, Senator of the city of Groningen; all  
 “ deputies to the assembly of the said Lords the  
 “ States-General on the one part, respectively of  
 “ the provinces of Guelder, Holland, West Fricze-  
 “ land, Zeland, Utrecht, Friezeland, Overysfel,  
 “ and Groningen, and Ommelands; who, by vir-  
 “ tue of their full powers, have agreed upon the  
 “ following articles.”

### A R T I C L E I.

THE treaties of peace, friendship, alliance, and confederacy between her Britannic Majesty and the States-General of the United Provinces shall be approved and confirmed by the present treaty, and shall remain in their former force and vigour as if they were inserted word for word.

### A R T I C L E II.

The succession to the crown of England having been settled by an act of parliament, passed the twelfth year of the reign of his late Majesty King William III. the title of which is, *An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject*; and lately, in the sixth year of the reign of her present Majesty, this succession having been again established and confirmed by another act made for the greater security of her Majesty's person and government, and the succession to the crown of Great Britain, &c. in the line of the Most Serene house of Hanover, and in the person of the Princess Sophia, and of her heirs, successors, and descendants, male and female, already born or to be born: And although no power hath any right to oppose the laws made upon this subject by the crown and parliament of Great Britain; if it shall happen nevertheless, that under any pretence, or by any cause  
 whatever,



whatever, any person, or any power or state, may pretend to dispute the establishment which the parliament hath made of the aforesaid succession in the Most Serene house of Hanover, to oppose the said succession, to assist or favour those who may oppose it, whether directly or indirectly, by open war, or by fomenting seditions and conspiracies against her or him to whom the crown of Great Britain shall descend, according to the acts aforesaid; the States-General engage and promise to assist and maintain, in the said succession, her or him to whom it shall belong, by virtue of the said acts of parliament, to assist them in taking possession, if they should not be in actual possession, and to oppose those who would disturb them in the taking such possession, or in the actual possession of the aforesaid succession,

### A R T I C L E   I I I .

Her said Majesty and the States-General, in consequence of the fifth article of the alliance concluded between the Emperor, the late King of Great Britain, and the States-General, the 7th of September 1701, will employ all their force to recover the rest of the Spanish Low Countries.

### A R T I C L E   I V .

And further, they will endeavour to conquer as many towns and forts as they can, in order to their being a barrier and security to the said States.

### A R T I C L E   V .

And whereas, according to the ninth article of the said alliance, it is to be agreed, amongst other matters, how and in what manner the States shall

be made safe by means of this barrier, the Queen of Great Britain will use her endeavours to procure that in the treaty of peace it may agreed, that all the Spanish Low Countries, and what else may be found necessary, whether conquered or unconquered places, shall serve as a barrier to the States.

#### A R T I C L E VI.

That to this end their High Mightinesses shall have the liberty to put and keep garrison, to change, augment, and diminish it, as they shall judge proper, in the places following; namely, Newport, Furnes, with the fort of Knock, Ypres, Menin, the town and citadel of Lisle, Tournay, and its citadel, Conde, Valenciennes; and the places which shall from henceforward be conquered from France, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Namur and its citadel, Lier, Halle to fortify, the ports of Perle, Philippe, Damme, the castle of Gand, and Dendermonde. The fort of St. Donas being joined to the fortification of the Sluice, and being entirely incorporated with it, shall remain and be yielded in property to the States. The fort of Rodenhuyfen on this side Gand shall be demolished.

#### A R T I C L E VII.

The said States-General may, in case of an apparent attack, or war, put as many troops as they shall think necessary in all the towns, places, and forts in the Spanish Low Countries, where the reason of war shall require it.

#### A R T I C L E VIII.

They may likewise send into the towns, forts  
and



and places, where they shall have their garrisons, without any hinderance and without paying any duties, provisions, ammunitions of war, arms, and artillery, materials for the fortifications, and all that shall be found convenient and necessary for the said garrisons and fortifications.

## A R T I C L E IX.

The States-General shall also have liberty to appoint in the towns, forts, and places of their barrier, mentioned in the foregoing sixth article, where they may have garrisons, such governors and commanders, majors and other officers as they shall find proper, who shall not be subject to any other orders, whatsoever they may be, or from whencesoever they may come, relating to the security and military government of the said places, but only to those of their High Mightinesses (exclusive of all others); still preserving the rights and privileges, as well ecclesiastical as political, of K. Charles III.

## A R T I C L E X.

That besides the States shall have liberty to fortify the said towns, places, and forts, which belong to them, and repair the fortifications of them in such manner as they shall judge necessary; and further to do whatever shall be useful for their defence.

## A R T I C L E XI.

It is agreed, that the States-General shall have all the revenues of the towns, places, jurisdictions, and their dependencies, which they shall have for their barrier from France, which were not in the possession of the crown of Spain at the time of the death

death of the late K. Charles II. and besides, a million of livres shall be settled for the payment of one hundred thousand crowns every three months, out of the clearest revenues of the Spanish Low countries, which the said King was then in possession of; both which are for maintaining the garrisons of the States, and for supplying the fortifications, as also the magazines, and other necessary expences in the towns and places above mentioned. And that the said revenues may be sufficient to support these expences, endeavours shall be used for enlarging the dependencies and jurisdictions aforesaid as much as possible; and particularly, for including with the jurisdiction of Ypres that of Cassel, and the forest of Niepe; and with the jurisdiction of Lisle the jurisdiction of Douay, both having been so joined before the present war.

#### A R T I C L E XII.

That no town, fort, place, or country of the Spanish Low Countries shall be granted, transferred, or given, or descend to the crown of France, or any of the line of France, neither by virtue of any gift, sale, exchange, marriage, agreement, inheritance, succession by will, or through want of will, from no title whatsoever, nor in any other manner whatsoever, nor be put into the power, or under the authority of the Most Christian King, or any one of the line of France.

#### A R T I C L E XIII.

And whereas the said States-General, in consequence of the ninth article of the said alliance, are to make a convention or treaty with K. Charles III. for putting the States in a condition of safety by means of the said barrier, the QUEEN of Great Britain will do what depends upon her, that all the foregoing



foregoing particulars relating to the barrier of the States may be inserted in the aforesaid treaty or convention; and that her said Majesty will continue her good offices, 'until the above-mentioned convention between the States and the said K. Charles the Third be concluded, agreeable to what is before mentioned; and that her Majesty will be guarantee of the said treaty or convention.

## ARTICLE XIV.

And that the said States may enjoy from henceforward, as much as possible, a barrier for the Spanish Low Countries, they shall be permitted to put their garrisons in the towns already taken, and which may hereafter be so, before the peace be concluded and ratified. And in the mean time, the said King Charles III. shall not be allowed to enter into possession of the said Spanish Low countries, neither entirely nor in part: and during that time the QUEEN shall assist their High Mightinesses to maintain them in the enjoyment of the revenues, and to find the million of livres a-year above mentioned.

## ARTICLE XV.

And whereas their High Mightinesses have stipulated by the treaty of Munster, in the fourteenth article, that the river Scheld, as also the canals of Sas, Swan, and other mouths of the sea bordering thereupon should be kept shut on the side of the States:

And in the fifteenth article, that the ships and commodities going in and coming out of the harbours of Flanders shall be, and remain charged with all such imposts, and other duties, as are raised upon commodities going and coming along the Scheld, and the other canals above mentioned:

The

The QUEEN of Great Britain promises and engages, that their High Mightinesses shall never be disturbed in their right and possession in that respect, neither directly or indirectly; as also, that the commerce shall not in prejudice of the said treaty be made more easy by the sea-ports than by the rivers, canals, and mouths of the sea, on the side of the States of the United Provinces, neither directly or indirectly.

And whereas by the sixteenth and seventeenth articles of the same treaty of Munster, his Majesty the King of Spain is obliged to treat the subjects of their High Mightinesses as favourably as the subjects of Great Britain and the Hans towns, who were then the people most favourably treated; her Britannic Majesty and their High Mightinesses promise likewise to take care that their High Mightinesses shall be treated in the Spanish Low countries as well as in Spain, the kingdoms and states belonging to it, equally and as well the one as the other, as the people most favoured.

#### A R T I C L E XVI.

The said QUEEN and States-General oblige themselves to furnish by sea and land the succours and assistance necessary to maintain by force her said Majesty in the quiet possession of her kingdoms; and the Most Serene house of Hanover in the said succession, in the manner it is settled by the acts of parliament before mentioned; and to maintain the said States-General in the possession of the said barrier.

#### A R T I C L E XVII.

After the ratifications of the treaty a particular convention shall be made of the conditions, by which the said QUEEN, and the said Lords the States-General, will engage themselves to furnish  
the



the succours which shall be thought necessary, as well by sea as by land.

## A R T I C L E XVIII.

If her British Majesty, or the States-General of the United Provinces, be attacked by any body whatsoever by reason of this convention, they shall mutually assist one another with all their forces, and become guarantees of the execution of the said convention.

## A R T I C L E XIX.

There shall be invited and admitted into the present treaty, as soon as possible, all the kings, princes, and states, who shall be willing to enter into the same, particularly his Imperial Majesty, the Kings of Spain and Prussia, and the Elector of Hanover. And her British Majesty and the States-General of the United Provinces, and each of them in particular, shall be permitted to require and invite those whom they shall think fit to require and invite, to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution.

## A R T I C L E XX.

And as time hath shewn the omission which was made in the treaty signed at Ryswick in the year 1697, between England and France, in respect of the right of the succession of England in the person of her Majesty the QUEEN of Great Britain, now reigning; and that for want of having settled in that treaty this indisputable right of her Majesty, France refused to acknowledge her for QUEEN of Great Britain after the death of the late K. William III. of glorious memory: her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and the Lords the States-

General of the United Provinces, do agree, and engage themselves likewise, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the title of her Majesty to the crown of Great Britain, as also the right of succession to the Most Serene house of Hanover to the aforesaid crown, in the manner it is settled and established by the before-mentioned acts of parliament, be fully acknowledged as a preliminary by France, and that France hath promised at the same time to remove out of its dominions the person who pretends to be King of Great Britain; and that no negotiation, or formal discussion of the articles of the said treaty of peace, shall be entered into but jointly, and at the same time with the said Queen, or with her ministers.

#### A R T I C L E   X X I .

Her British Majesty, and the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, shall ratify and confirm all that is contained in the present treaty within the space of four weeks, to be reckoned from the day of the signing. In testimony whereof, the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her British Majesty, and the deputies of the Lords the States-General, have signed this present treaty, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

*At the Hague the 29th of October, in the year 1709.*

(L. S.) Townshend.  
 (L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.  
 (L. S.) G. Hoeuft.  
 (L. S.) E. V. Itterfum.  
 (L. S.) J. V. Welderen.  
 (L. S.) A. Heinsius.  
 (L. S.) H. Sminia.  
 (L. S.) W. Wichers.

THE



## THE SEPARATE ARTICLE.

“ AS in the preliminary-articles signed here at  
“ the Hague, the 28th of May 1709, by the  
“ plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Majesty, of her  
“ Majesty the Queen of Great-Britain, and of the  
“ Lords the States-General of the United Pro-  
“ vinces, it is stipulated, amongst other things,  
“ that the Lords the States-General shall have,  
“ with entire property and sovereignty, the upper  
“ quarter of Guelder, according to the fifty-second  
“ article of the treaty of Munster, of the year  
“ 1648; as also, that the garrisons which are,  
“ or hereafter shall be, on the part of the Lords  
“ the States-General, in the town of Huy, the ci-  
“ tadel of Liege, and in the town of Bonne, shall  
“ remain there, until it shall be otherwise agreed  
“ upon with his Imperial Majesty and the empire :  
“ and as the barrier, which is this day agreed upon  
“ in the principal treaty for the mutual guarantee  
“ between her British Majesty and the Lords the  
“ States-General, cannot give to the United Pro-  
“ vinces the safety for which it is established, un-  
“ less it be well secured from one end to the other,  
“ and that the communication of it be well joined  
“ together, for which the upper quarter of Guel-  
“ der, and the garrisons in the citadel of Liege,  
“ Huy, and Bonne are absolutely necessary : (ex-  
“ perience having thrice shewn, that France hav-  
“ ing a design to attack the United Provin-  
“ ces, has made use of the places above men-  
“ tioned, in order to come at them, and to pene-  
“ trate into the said provinces). And further, as  
“ in respect to the equivalent for which the upper  
“ quarter of Guelder is to be yielded to the Uni-  
“ ted Provinces, according to the fifty-second arti-  
“ cle of the treaty of Munster above mentioned,

“ his Majesty K. Charles III. will be much more  
 “ gratified and advantaged in other places, than  
 “ that equivalent can avail ! to the end therefore  
 “ that the Lords the States-General may have the  
 “ upper quarter of Guelder with entire property  
 “ and sovereignty ; and that the said upper quar-  
 “ ter of Guelder may be yielded in this manner  
 “ to the said Lords the States-General, in the con-  
 “ vention, or the treaty that they are to make with  
 “ his Majesty K. Charles III. according to the thir-  
 “ teenth article of the treaty concluded this day ;  
 “ as also, that their garrisons in the citadel of  
 “ Liege, in that of Huy, and in Bonne, may re-  
 “ main there, until it be otherwise agreed upon  
 “ with his Imperial Majesty and the empire ; her  
 “ Majesty the Queen of Great Britain engages her-  
 “ self, and promises by this separate article, which  
 “ shall have the same force as if it were inserted in  
 “ the principal treaty, to make the same efforts  
 “ for all this, as she hath engaged herself to make  
 “ for the obtaining the barrier in the Spanish Low  
 “ Countries. In testimony whereof, the under-  
 “ written ambassador extraordinary and plenipo-  
 “ tentiary of her British Majesty, and deputies of  
 “ the Lords the States-General, have signed the  
 “ present separate article, and have affixed their  
 “ seals thereunto.

*At the Hague, the 29th of October, 1709.*

(L. S.) Townshend.  
 (L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.  
 (L. S.) G. Hoeuft.  
 (L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.  
 (L. S.) J. V. Welderen.  
 (L. S.) A. Heinsius.  
 (L. S.) H. Sminia.  
 (L. S.) W. Wichers.

THE



## THE SECOND SEPARATE ARTICLE.

“ **A**S the Lords the States-General have repre-  
“ sented, that in Flanders the limits between  
“ Spanish Flanders and that of the States are set-  
“ tled in such a manner, as that the land belong-  
“ ing to the States is extremely narrow there ; so  
“ that in some places the territory of Spanish Flan-  
“ ders extends itself to the fortifications, and under  
“ the cannon of the places, towns, and forts of  
“ the States, which occasions many inconvenien-  
“ cies, as hath been seen by an example a little be-  
“ fore the beginning of the present war, when a  
“ fort was designed to have been built under the  
“ cannon of the Sas Van Gand, under pretence,  
“ that it was upon the territory of Spain : and as  
“ it is necessary, for avoiding these, and other  
“ sorts of inconveniencies, that the land of the  
“ States upon the confines of Flanders should be  
“ enlarged, and that the places, towns, and forts,  
“ should by that means be better covered : her Bri-  
“ tish Majesty, entering into the just motives of  
“ the said Lords the States-General in this respect,  
“ promises and engages herself, by this separate ar-  
“ ticle, that in the convention which the said Lords  
“ the States-General are to make with his Majesty  
“ K. Charles III. she will assist them, as that it  
“ may be agreed, that by the cession to the said  
“ Lords the States-General of the property of an  
“ extent of land necessary to obviate such like, and  
“ other inconveniencies, their limits in Flanders  
“ shall be enlarged more conveniently for their se-  
“ curity ; and those of the Spanish Flanders remo-  
“ ved farther from their towns, places, and forts,  
“ to the end that these may not be exposed any  
“ more. In testimony whereof, the underwritten  
“ ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of  
“ her

“ her British Majesty, and deputies of the Lords  
 “ the States-General, have signed the present se-  
 “ parate article, and have affixed their seals there-  
 “ unto.”

*At the Hague, the 29th of October 1709.*

(L. S.) Townshend.

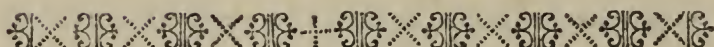
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.

(L. S.) A. Heinsius.

(L. S.) G. Hoefst.

(L. S.) H. Sminia.

(L. S.) E. V. Itterfum.



*The articles of the Counter-project, which were struck  
 out or altered by the Dutch in the barrier-treaty,  
 with some remarks,*

## A R T I C L E VI.

**T**O this end their High Mightinesses shall have power to put and keep garrisons in the following places, *viz.* Newport, Knocke, Menin, the citadel of Lisle, Tournay, Conde, Valenciennes, Namur and its citadel, Lier, Halle to fortify, the fort of Perle, Damme, and the castle of Gand.

## R E M A R K S.

In the barrier-treaty the States added the following places to those mentioned in this article, *viz.* Furnes, Ypres, towns of Lisle, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Philipps, fort of St. Donas (which is to be in property to the States), and the fort of Rodenhuyfen



huyfen to be demolished. To say nothing of the other places, Dendermond is the key of all Brabant; and the demolishing of the fort of Rodenhuyfen, situate between Gand and Sas Van Gand, can only serve to defraud the King of Spain of the duties upon goods imported and exported there.

## A R T I C L E VII.

The said States may put into the said towns, forts, and places, and in case of open war with France, into all the other towns, places, and forts, whatever troops the reason of war shall require.

## R E M A R K S.

But in the barrier-treaty it is said, *in case of an apparent attack, or war*, without specifying against France: neither is the number of troops limited to what the reason of war shall require, but what the States shall think necessary.

## A R T I C L E IX.

Besides some smaller differences, ends with a salvo, not only for the ecclesiastical and civil rights of the King of Spain, but likewise for his revenues in the said towns; which revenues in the barrier-treaty are all given to the States.

## A R T I C L E XI.

The revenues of the chatellanies and dependencies of the towns and places, which the States shall have for their barrier against France, and which were not in the possession of the crown of Spain at the late King of Spain's death, shall be settled  
to

to be a fund for maintaining garrisons, and providing for the fortifications and magazines, and other necessary charges of the said towns of the barrier.

### R E M A R K S.

I desire the reader to compare this with the eleventh article of the barrier-treaty, where he will see how prodigiously it is enlarged.

### A R T I C L E XIV.

All this to be without prejudice to such other treaties and conventions as the Queen of Great Britain and their High Mightinesses may think fit to make for the future with the said K. Charles III. relating to the said Spanish Netherlands, or to the said barrier.

### A R T I C L E XV.

And to the end that the said States may enjoy at present, as much as it is possible, a barrier in the Spanish Netherlands, they shall be permitted to put their garrisons in the chief towns already taken, or that may be taken, before a peace be made.

### R E M A R K S.

These two articles are not in the barrier-treaty, but two others in their stead; to which I refer the reader. And indeed it was highly necessary for the Dutch to strike out the former of these articles, when so great a part of the treaty is so highly and manifestly prejudicial to Great Britain, as well as to the King of Spain; especially in the two articles inserted in the place of these, which I desire the reader will examine.

ARTI-



## ARTICLE XX.

And whereas by the fifth and ninth articles of the alliance between the Emperor and the late King of Great Britain, and the States-General, concluded the 7th of September 1701, it is agreed and stipulated, that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy, shall be recovered from the possession of France, as being of the last consequence to the trade of both nations, as well as the Spanish Netherlands for a barrier for the States-General; therefore the said Queen of Great Britain, and the States-General agree and oblige themselves not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the restitution of the said kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy as well as the Spanish Low Countries, with the other towns and places in the possession of France above mentioned in this treaty; and also after the manner specified in this treaty; as likewise all the rest of the entire monarchy of Spain be yielded by France as a preliminary.

## ARTICLE XXII.

And whereas experience hath shewn of what importance it is to Great Britain and the United Provinces, that the fortress and port of Dunkirk should not be in the possession of France in the condition they are at present; the subjects of both nations having undergone such great losses, and suffered so much in their trade by the prizes taken from them by privateers set out from that port; insomuch that France, by her unmeasurable ambition, may be always tempted to make some enterprises upon the territories of the Queen of Great

Britain and their High Mightinesses, and interrupt the public repose and tranquillity ; for the preservation of which, and the balance of Europe against the exorbitant power of France, the allies engaged themselves in this long and burthensome war ; therefore the said Queen of Great Britain, and their High Mightinesses agree, and oblige themselves not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before it shall be yielded and stipulated by France as a preliminary, that all the fortifications of the said town of Dunkirk, and the forts that depend upon it, be entirely demolished and razed, and that the port be entirely ruined and rendered impracticable.

#### R E M A R K S.

These two articles are likewise omitted in the barrier-treaty : whereof the first regards particularly the interests of the house of Austria ; and the other about demolishing Dunkirk those of Great Britain. It is something strange, that the late ministry, whose advocates raise such a clamour about the necessity of recovering Spain from the house of Bourbon, should suffer the Dutch to strike out this article ; which I think clearly shews the reason why the States never troubled themselves with the thoughts of reducing Spain, or even recovering Milan, Naples, and Sicily, to the Emperor ; but were wholly fixed upon the conquest of Flanders, because they had determined those provinces as a property for themselves.

As for the article about demolishing of Dunkirk, I am not at all surpris'd to find it struck out ; the destruction of that place, although it would be useful to the States, doth more nearly import Britain, and was therefore a point that such ministers could more easily get over.

The



The sentiments of Prince EUGENE of Savoy, and of the Count DE SINZENDORF, relating to the barrier of the States-General, to the upper quarter of Guelder, and to the towns of the electorate of Cologne, and of the bishopric of Liege.

**A**Lthough the orders and instructions of the court of Vienna and Barcelona upon the matters above mentioned do not go so far as to give directions for what follows; notwithstanding, the Prince and Count above mentioned, considering the present state of affairs, are of the following opinion.

First, that the counter-project of England, relating to the places where the States-General may put and keep garrisons, ought to be followed, except Lier, Halle to fortify, and the castle of Gand. Provided likewise, that the sentiments of England be particularly conformed to relating to Dendermond and Ostend, as places in no wise belonging to the barrier; and which, as well as the castle of Gand, can only serve to make the States-General masters of the Low Countries, and hinder trade with England. And as to Lier and Halle, those who are acquainted with the country know that these towns cannot give any security to the States-General; but can only make people believe, that these places being fortified would rather serve to block up Brussels and the other great cities of Brabant.

Secondly, As to what is said in the seventh article of the counter-project of England, relating to the augmentation of garrisons in the towns of the barrier in case of an open war; this is agreeable to the opinions of the said Prince and Count; who think likewise, that there ought to be added to the

eighth article, that no goods or merchandise should be sent into the towns where the States-General shall have garrisons, nor be comprehended under the names of such things as the said garrisons and fortifications shall have need of. And that to this end the said things shall be inspected in those places where they are to pass; as likewise the quantity shall be settled that the garrisons may want.

Thirdly, As to the ninth article relating to the governors and commanders of those towns, forts, and places where the States-General shall have their garrisons; the said Prince and Count are of opinion, that the said governors and commanders ought to take an oath as well to the King of Spain as to the States-General: but they may take a particular oath to the latter, that they will not admit foreign troops without their consent; and that they will depend exclusively upon the said States in whatever regards the military power. But at the same time they ought exclusively to promise the King of Spain, that they will not intermeddle in the affairs of law, civil power, revenues, or any other matters, ecclesiastical or civil, unless at the desire of the King's officers, to assist them in the execution; in which case the said commanders should be obliged not to refuse them.

Fourthly, As to the tenth article there is nothing to be added, unless that the States-General may repair and increase the fortifications of the towns, places, and forts where they shall have their garrisons; but this at their own expence. Otherwise, under that pretext they might seize all the revenues of the country.

Fifthly, As to the eleventh article, they think the States ought not to have the revenues of the chatellanies and dependencies of these towns and places, which are to be their barrier against France; this being a sort of sovereignty, and very prejudicial to the ecclesiastical and civil oeconomy of the country.



country. But the said Prince and Count are of opinion, that the States-General ought to have, for the maintenance of their garrisons and fortifications, a sum of money of a million and a half, or two millions of florins, which they ought to receive from the King's officers, who shall be ordered to pay that sum before any other payment.

Sixthly, And the convention which shall be made on this affair between his Catholic Majesty and the States-General, shall be for a limited time.

These are the utmost conditions to which the said Prince and Count think it possible for his Catholic Majesty to be brought; and they declare at the same time, that their Imperial and Catholic Majesties will sooner abandon the Low Countries, than take them, upon other conditions, which would be equally expensive, shameful, and unacceptable to them.

On the other side, the said Prince and Count are persuaded, that the advantages at this time yielded to the States-General may hereafter be very prejudicial to themselves: forasmuch as they may put the people of the Spanish Netherlands to some dangerous extremity, considering the antipathy between the two nations; and that extending of frontiers is entirely contrary to the maxims of their government.

As to the upper quarter of Guelder, the said Prince and Count are of opinion, that the States-General may be allowed the power of putting in garrisons into Venlo, Ruremond, and Steffenswaert, with orders to furnish the said States with the revenues of the country, which amount to one hundred thousand florins.

As to Bonne, belonging to the electorate of Cologne, Liege, and Huy, to the bishopric of Liege, it is to be understood, that these being *Imperial* towns, it doth not depend upon the Emperor to consent that foreign garrisons should be placed in them

them upon any pretence whatsoever. But whereas the States-General demand them only for their security, it is proposed to place in those towns a garrison of *Imperial* troops, of whom the States may be in no suspicion, as they might be of a garrison of an elector, who might possibly have views opposite to their interests. But this is proposed only in case that it shall not be thought more proper to raze one or other of the said towns.

The Representation of the English merchants  
at Bruges, relating to the Barrier-treaty.

DAVID WHITE, and other merchants, her Majesty's  
*subjects residing at Bruges, and other towns in Flanders, crave humbly to represent,*

THAT whereas the cities of Lisle, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and other new conquests in Flanders and Artois, taken from the French this war by the united forces of her Majesty and her allies, are now become entirely under the government of the States-General; and that we her Majesty's subjects may be made liable to such duties and impositions on trade as the said States-General shall think fit to impose on us: we humbly hope and conceive, that it is her Majesty's intention and design, that the trade of her dominions and subjects, which is carried on with these new conquests, may be on an equal foot with that of the subjects and dominions of the States-General, and not be liable to any new duty, when transported from the Spanish Netherlands to the said new conquests, as to our great surprise is exacted from us on the following goods, *viz.* butter, tallow, salmon, hides, beef, and all other product of her Majesty's dominions, which we import at Ostend, and there pay  
the

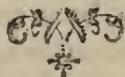


the duty of entry to the King of Spain, and consequently ought not to be liable to any new duty, when they carry the same goods, and all others, from their dominions by a free pass or *transport* to the said new conquests: and we are under apprehension, that if the said new conquests be settled, or given entirely into the possession of the States-General for their barrier, (as we are made believe by a treaty lately made by her Majesty's ambassador, the Lord Viscount Townshend, at the Hague), that the States-General may also soon declare all goods and merchandises, which are contraband in their provinces, to be also contraband and prohibited in these new conquests, or new barrier; by which her Majesty's subjects will be deprived of the sale and consumption of the following products of her Majesty's dominions, which are and have long been declared contraband in the United Provinces, such as English and Scots salt, malt spirits, or corn brandy, and all other sorts of distilled English spirits, whale and rape oil, &c.

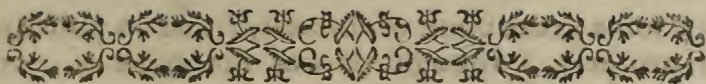
It is therefore humbly conceived, that her Majesty, out of her great care and gracious concern for the benefit of her subjects and dominions, may be pleased to direct, by a treaty of commerce, or some other way, that their trade may be put on an equal foot in all the Spanish Netherlands, and the new conquests of barrier with the subjects of Holland, by paying no other duty than that of importation to the King of Spain; and by a provision, that no product of her Majesty's dominions shall ever be declared contraband in these new conquests, except such goods as were esteemed contraband before the death of Charles II. King of Spain. And it is also humbly prayed, that the product and manufacture of the new conquests may be also exported without paying any new duty, besides that of exportation at Ostend, which was always paid to the King of Spain; it being impossible for any nation  
in

in Europe to assort an entire cargo for the Spanish West Indies without a considerable quantity of several of the manufactures of Lisle; such as caradoras, cajant, picofes, boratten, and many other goods.

The chief things to be demanded of France are, to be exempted from tonage, to have a liberty of importing herrings and all other fish to France on the same terms as the Dutch do, and as was agreed by them at the treaty of commerce immediately after the treaty of peace at Ryfwick. The enlarging her Majesty's plantations in America, &c. is naturally recommended.

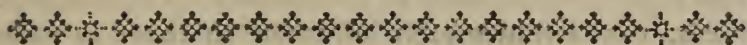






T H E

## E X A M I N E R \*.

N<sup>o</sup> 13. Thursday, November 2, 1710.

——— *Longa est injuria, longæ  
Ambagas; sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.*

IT is a practice I have generally followed, to converse in equal freedom with the deserving men of both parties; and it was never without some contempt, that I have observed persons wholly out of employment affect to do otherwise. I doubted, whether any man could owe so much to the side he  
was

\* In August 1710, a weekly paper, called, *The EXAMINER*, began to be published. It was esteemed to be the work of several eminent hands; among which were reckoned Lord Bolingbroke, Dr. Atterbury Bishop of Rochester, Mr. Prior, and some others. However it came about, the general opinion is, that those persons proceeded no further than to the first twelve papers: after which it seems to be agreed, that the undertaking was carried on by Dr. Swift, who began with number 13, and ended at number 50. For although the paper continued many months after to be published, under the title of *The EXAMINER*; yet, by the inequality of the performance, it was manifest to all judicious persons, that Dr. Swift had not the least share in them. *Dublin edition.*

As N<sup>o</sup> 13. was the first of these papers written by Dr. Swift, N<sup>o</sup> 44. was the last. Six more have been printed in the Irish edition: which is a proof, among many others, that he was not the editor. In a letter of his to Stella, dated June 7. 1711, the day on which

was of, although he were retained by it; but without some great point of interest, either in possession or prospect, I thought it was the mark of a low and narrow spirit.

It is hard, that for some weeks past I have been forced in my own defence to follow a proceeding that I have so much condemned in others. But several of my acquaintance among the declining party are grown so insufferably peevish and splenetic, profess such violent apprehensions for the public, and represent the state of things in such formidable ideas, that I find myself disposed to share in their afflictions; although I know them to be groundless

the Examiner, N<sup>o</sup> 44. was published, there is the following paragraph. "As for the Examiner, I have heard a whisper, that after that of this day, which tells what this parliament has done, you will hardly find them so good: I prophesy they will be trash for the future; and methinks, in this day's Examiner, the author talks doubtfully, as if he would write no more; so that if they go on, they may probably be by some other hand: which, in my opinion, is a thousand pities; but who can help it? Observe whether the change be discovered in Dublin; only for your own curiosity, that's all." In a subsequent letter, dated August 24. he says, "The Examiner has been down this month, and was very silly the five or six last papers."

The Examiner was a weekly paper in defence of the Tory ministry. This paper, as it was carried on by some very eminent hands, having obtained a vogue, Swift took up the character of the Examiner, and commenced a regular series of politics with N<sup>o</sup> 13. Nov. 2. 1710; and having completed the main design which first engaged him in the undertaking, with N<sup>o</sup> 44. June 7, 1711, and taken his leave of the town, as appears from the two last paragraphs of that number, he dropt the character of the Examiner, and never more writ another paper. There was a paper indeed still supported under the title of the Examiner; but it sunk immediately into rudeness and ill manners: and, what is still more, I can take upon me to assert from undeniable authority, even from the authority of Dr. Swift himself, that in fact the scurrility in those papers was encouraged by the ministry. In short, the subsequent Examiners were written by some under spur-leathers in the city, and were designed merely as proper returns to those Grubstreet invectives which were thrown out against the administration by the authors of the Medley, the Englishman, and some other abusive detracting papers of the like stamp.

*Swift,*

and



and imaginary, or, which is worse, purely affected. To offer them comfort one by one, would be not only an endless, but a disobliging task. Some of them, I am convinced, would be less melancholy if there were more occasion. I shall therefore, instead of hearkening to farther complaints, employ some part of this paper for the future in letting such men see, that their natural or acquired fears are ill grounded, and their artificial ones as ill intended; that all our present inconveniencies are the consequence of the very counsels they so much admire, which would still have increased if those had continued; and that neither our constitution in church or state could probably have been long preserved without such methods, as have been already taken.

THE late revolutions at court have given room to some specious objections, which I have heard repeated by well-meaning men, just as they had taken them up on the credit of others, who have worse designs. They wonder the Queen would chuse to change her ministry at this juncture, and thereby give uneasiness to a general, who hath been so long successful abroad, and might think himself injured, if the entire ministry were not of his own nomination; that there were few complaints of any consequence against the late men in power, and none at all in parliament, which on the contrary passed votes in favour of the chief minister; that, if her Majesty had a mind to introduce the other party, it would have been more seasonable after a peace, which now we have made desperate by spurring the French, who rejoice at these changes, and by the fall of our credit, which unqualifies us for carrying on the war; that the parliament, so untimely dissolved, had been diligent in their supplies, and dutiful in their behaviour; that one consequence of these changes appears already in the

fall of the stocks; that we may soon expect more and worse; and, lastly, that all this naturally tends to break the settlement of the crown, and call over the pretender.

These, and the like notions, are plentifully scattered abroad by the malice of a ruined party, to render the Queen and her administration odious, and to inflame the nation. And these are what, upon occasion, I shall endeavour to overthrow by discovering the falsehood and absurdity of them.

It is a great unhappiness, when in a government constituted like ours it should be so brought about, that the continuance of a war must be for the interest of vast numbers (civil as well as military) who otherwise would have been as unknown as their original. I think our present condition of affairs is admirably described by two verses in Lucan:

*Hinc usura vorax, avidumque in tempore fœnus,  
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum.*

Which, without any great force upon the words, may be thus translated:

“Hence are derived those exorbitant interests  
“and annuities; hence those large discounts for  
“advance and prompt payment; hence public credit is shaken; and hence great numbers find  
“their profit in prolonging the war.”

It is odd, that among a free trading people, as we call ourselves, there should so many be found to close in with those counsels, who have been ever averse from all overtures towards a peace: but yet there is no great mystery in the matter. Let any man observe the equipages in this town, he shall find the greater number of those who make a figure, to be a species of men quite different from any that were known before the revolution, consisting either of generals or colonels, or of those whose whole fortunes lie in funds and stocks; so that



that *power*, which, according to the old maxim, was used to follow *land*, is now gone over to *money*; and the country-gentleman is in the condition of a young heir, out of whose estate a scrivener receives half the rents for interest, and hath a mortgage on the whole; and is therefore always ready to feed his vices and extravagancies, while there is any thing left. So that if the war continue some years longer, a landed man will be little better than a farmer of a rack-rent to the army and to the public funds.

It may perhaps be worth inquiring, from what beginnings and by what steps we have been brought into this desperate condition: and in search of this we must run up as high as the revolution.

Most of the nobility and gentry, who invited over the Prince of Orange, or attended him in his expedition, were true lovers of their country, and its constitution in church and state; and were brought to yield to those breaches in the succession of the crown, out of a regard to the necessity of the kingdom and the safety of the people, which did, and could only make them lawful; but without intention of drawing such a practice into precedent, or making it a standing measure by which to proceed in all times to come; and therefore we find their counsels ever tended to keep things, as much as possible, in the old course. But soon after, and under a set of men who had nothing to lose, and had neither borne the burthen nor heat of the day, found means to whisper in the King's ear, that the principles of loyalty in the church of England were wholly inconsistent with the *revolution*. Hence began the early practice of caressing the dissenters, reviling the universities, as maintainers of arbitrary power, and reproaching the clergy with the doctrines of *divine right*, *passive-obedience*, and *non-resistance*. At the same time, in order to fasten wealthy people to the new government, they  
proposed

proposed those pernicious expedients of borrowing money by vast *premiums*, and at exorbitant interest: a practice as old as Eumenes, one of Alexander's captains, who setting up for himself after the death of his master, persuaded his principal officers to lend him great sums, after which they were forced to follow him for their own security.

This introduced a number of new dextrous men into business and credit. It was argued, that the war could not last above two or three campaigns; and that it was easier for the subjects to raise a fund for paying interest, than to tax them annually to the full expense of the war. Several persons, who had small or incumbered estates, sold them, and turned their money into those funds, to great advantage: merchants, as well as other moneyed men, finding trade was dangerous, pursued the same method. But the war continuing, and growing more expensive, taxes were increased, and funds multiplied every year, till they have arrived at the monstrous height we now behold them; and that which was at first a corruption, is at last grown necessary, and what every good subject must now fall in with, although he may be allowed to wish it might soon have an end; because it is with a kingdom as with a private fortune, where every new incumbrance adds a double weight. By this means the wealth of a nation, that used to be reckoned by the value of land, is now computed by the rise and fall of stocks: and although the foundation of credit be still the same, and upon a bottom that can never be shaken, and although all interest be duly paid by the public; yet, through the contrivance and cunning of *stockjobbers*, there hath been brought in such a complication of knavery and cozenage, such a mystery of iniquity, and such an unintelligible jargon of terms to involve it in, as were never known in any other age or country in the world. I have heard it affirmed, by persons skilled in these  
cacula-

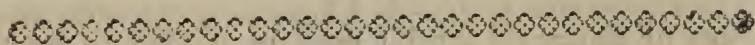


calculations, that if the funds appropriated to the payment of interest and annuities were added to the yearly taxes, and the four shilling aid strictly exacted in all counties of the kingdom, it would very near, if not fully, supply the occasions of the war; at least such a part as, in the opinion of very able persons, had been at that time prudent not to exceed. For I make it a question, Whether any wise prince or state in the continuance of a war, which was not purely defensive, or immediately at his own door, did ever propose that his expense should perpetually exceed what he was able to impose annually upon his subjects? Neither if the war last many years longer, do I see how the next generation will be able to begin another; which, in the course of human affairs, and according to the various interests and ambition of princes, may be as necessary for them, as it hath been for us. And if our fathers had left us as deeply involved, as we are likely to leave our children, I appeal to any man what sort of figure we should have been able to make these twenty years past. Besides, neither our enemies nor allies are upon the same foot with us in this particular. France and Holland, our nearest neighbours, and the farthest engaged, will much sooner recover themselves after a war: the first, by the absolute power of the prince, who, being master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects, will quickly find expedients to pay his debts; and so will the other, by their prudent administration, the greatness of their trade, their wonderful parsimony, the willingness of their people to undergo all kind of taxes, and their justice in applying as well as collecting them. But above all, we are to consider, that France and Holland fight on the continent, either upon, or near their own territories, and the greatest part of the money circulates among themselves; whereas ours crosses the sea, either to Flanders, Spain, or Portugal, and every penny of it,

it, whether in specie or returns, is so much lost to the nation for ever.

Upon these considerations alone, it was the most prudent course imaginable in the Queen, to lay hold of the disposition of the people for changing the parliament and ministry at this juncture, and extricating herself as soon as possible out of the pupilage of those who found their accounts only in perpetuating the war. Neither have we the least reason to doubt, but the ensuing parliament will assist her Majesty with the utmost vigour, until her enemies again be brought to sue for peace, and *again* offer such terms as will make it both honourable and lasting; only with this difference, that the ministry perhaps will not *again* refuse them.

*Audiet pugnas vitio parentum  
Rara juvenus.*



No. 14. Thursday, November 9. 1710.

*E quibus hi vacuas implent sermonibus aures,  
Hi narrata ferunt alio: mensuraque ficti  
Crescit, et auditis aliquid novus adjicit autor.  
Illic credulitas, illic temerarius error,  
Vanaque lætitia est, consternatique timores,  
Seditioque recens, dubioque autore susurri.*

I AM prevailed on, through the importunity of friends, to interrupt the scheme I had begun in my last paper, by an essay upon the art of *political lying*. We are told *the devil is the father of lies*, and *was a liar from the beginning*; so that, beyond contradiction, the invention is old: and, which is more, his first essay of it was purely *political*, employed



ployed in undermining the authority of his prince, and seducing the third part of the subjects from their obedience ; for which he was driven down from heaven, where, as Milton expresseth it, he had been VICEROY of a great *western province* ; and forced to exercise his talent in inferior regions among *other fallen spirits, or poor deluded men*, whom he still daily tempts to *his own sin*, and will ever do so, till he be *chained in the bottomless pit*.

But although the devil be the father of *lies*, he seems, like other great inventors, to have lost much of his reputation by the continual improvements that have been made upon him.

Who first reduced *lying* into an art, and adapted it to *politics*, is not so clear from history ; although I have made some diligent inquiries. I shall therefore consider it only according to the modern system, as it hath been cultivated these twenty years past in the southern part of our own island.

The poets tell us, that after the giants were overthrow by the gods, the *Earth* in revenge produced her last offspring, which was *Fame*. And the fable is thus interpreted ; that when tumults and seditions are quieted, rumours and false reports are plentifully spread through a nation. So that, by this account, *lying* is the last relief of a *routed, earth-born, rebellious party* in a state. But here the moderns have made great additions, applying this art to the gaining of power and preserving it, as well as revenging themselves after they have lost it ; as the same instruments are made use of by animals to feed themselves when they are hungry, and to bite those that tread upon them.

But the same genealogy cannot always be admitted for *political lying* ; I shall therefore desire to refine upon it, by adding some circumstances of its birth and parents. A *political lie* is sometimes born out of a discarded statesman's head, and thence delivered to be nursed and dandled by the *rabble*.

Sometimes it is produced a monster, and *licked* into shape ; at other times it comes into the world completely formed, and is spoiled in the *licking*. It is often born an infant in the regular way, and requires time to mature it ; and often it sees the light in its full growth, but dwindles away by degrees. Sometimes it is of noble birth ; and sometimes the spawn of a *stockjobber*. *Here* it screams aloud at the opening of the womb ; and *there* it is delivered with a *whisper*. I know a *lie*, that now disturbs half the kingdom with its noise, which although too proud and great at present to own its parents, I can remember its *whisper-hood*. To conclude the nativity of this monster ; when it comes into the world without a *sting*, it is still-born ; and whenever it loses its *sting*, it dies.

No wonder if an infant so miraculous in its birth should be destined for great adventures ; and accordingly we see it hath been the *guardian spirit* of a *prevailing party* for almost twenty years. It can conquer kingdoms without fighting, and sometimes with the loss of a battle. It gives and resumes employments ; can sink a mountain to a molehill, and raise a molehill to a mountain ; hath presided for many years at committees of elections ; can wash a *black-a-more* white ; make a saint of an atheist, and a patriot of a profligate ; can furnish *foreign ministers* with intelligence ; and raise or let fall the credit of the nation. This goddess flies with a huge *looking-glass* in her hands to dazzle the croud and make them see, according as she turns it, their ruin in their interest, and their interest in their ruin. In this glass you will behold your best friends clad in coats powdered with *fleurs de lis* and *triple crowns* ; their girdles hung round with *chain*, and *beads*, and *wooden shoes* ; and your worst enemies adorned with the ensigns of *liberty*, *property*, *indulgence*, *moderation*, and a *cornucopia* in their hands. Her large wings, like those of a flying fish, are of no use but when they are



are moist ; she therefore dips them in *mud*, and soaring aloft scatters it in the eyes of the multitude, flying with great swiftness ; but at every turn is forced to stoop in *dirty ways* for new supplies.

I have been sometimes thinking, if a man had the art of the *second sight* for seeing *lies*, as they have in Scotland for seeing spirits, how admirably he might entertain himself in this town, by observing the different shapes, sizes, and colours of those swarms of *lies*, which buz about the heads of *some people*, like flies about a horse's ears in summer ; or those legions hovering every afternoon in Exchange Alley, enough to darken the air ; or over a club of discontented grandees, and thence set down in cargoes to be scattered at elections.

There is one essential point wherein a *political liar* differs from others of the faculty ; that he ought to have but a short memory, which is necessary according to the various occasions he meets with every hour of differing from himself, and swearing to both sides of a contradiction, as he finds the persons disposed, with whom he hath to deal. In describing the virtues and vices of mankind, it is convenient, upon every article,, to have some eminent persons in our eye, from whom we copy our description. I have strictly observed this rule ; and my imagination this minute represents before me a certain *great man* \*, famous for this talent, to the constant practice of which he owes his twenty years reputation of the most skilful head in England for the management of nice affairs. The superiority of his genius consists in nothing else, but an inexhaustible fund of *political lies*, which he plentifully distributes every minute he speaks, and by an unparalled generosity forgets, and consequently contradicts, the next half hour. He never yet considered, whether any proposition were true

\* The late Earl of Wharton.

or false, but whether it were convenient for the present minute or company to affirm or deny it; so that if you think fit to refine upon him, by interpreting every thing he says, as we do dreams, by the contrary, you are still to seek, and will find yourself equally deceived whether you believe or no. The only remedy is to suppose, that you have heard some inarticulate sounds without any meaning at all; and besides, that will take off the horror you might be apt to conceive at the oaths wherewith he perpetually tags both ends of every *proposition*; although, at the same time, I think, he cannot with any justice be taxed with perjury, when he invokes God and Christ; because he hath often fairly given public notice to the world, that he believes in neither.

Some people may think, that such an accomplishment as this can be of no great use to the owner, or his party, after it hath been often practised and is become notorious; but they are widely mistaken. Few *lies* carry the inventor's mark, and the most prostitute enemy to truth may spread a thousand without being known for the author: Besides, as the vilest writer hath his readers, so the greatest *liar* hath his believers; and it often happens, that if a *lie* be believed only for an hour, it hath done its work, and there is no farther occasion for it. *Falseness flies*, and *Truth* comes *limping* after it; so that when men come to be undeceived, it is too late; the jest is over, and the tale has had its effect: Like a man, who has thought of a good repartee, when the discourse is changed, or the company parted; or like a physician, who hath found out an infallible medicine, after the patient is dead.

Considering that natural disposition in many men to *lie*, and in multitudes to *believe*, I have been perplexed what to do with that maxim so frequent in every body's mouth, That *truth will at last prevail*.

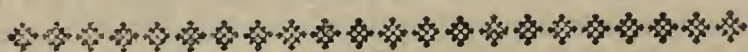
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Here hath this island of ours, for the greatest part of twenty years, lain under the influence of such counsels and persons, whose principle and interest it was to corrupt our manners, blind our understanding, drain our wealth, and in time destroy our constitution both in church and state; and we at last were brought to the very brink of ruin; yet, by the means of perpetual representations, have never been able to distinguish between our enemies and friends. We have seen a great part of the nation's money got into the hands of those, who, by their birth, education, and merit, could pretend no higher than to wear out liveries; while others, who, by their credit, quality, and fortune, were only able to give reputation and success to the revolution, were not only laid aside as dangerous and useless, but loaded with the scandal of Jacobites, men of *arbitrary principles*, and *pensioners* to France; while truth, who is said to lie in a well, seemed now to be buried there under a heap of stones. But I remember, it was an usual complaint among the *Whigs*, that the bulk of the landed men was not in their interests, which some of the wisest looked on as an ill omen; and we saw it was with the utmost difficulty, that they could preserve a majority, while the court and ministry were on their side, till they had learned those admirable expedients for deciding elections, and influencing distant boroughs by *powerful motives* from the city. But all this was mere force and constraint, however upheld by most dexterous artifice and management, until the people began to apprehend their *properties*, their *religion*, and the *monarchy* itself in danger; then we saw them greedily laying hold on the first occasion to interpose. But of this mighty change in the dispositions of the people I shall discourse more at large in some following paper; wherein I shall endeavour to unde-

ceive

ceive or discover those deluded or deluding persons, who hope or pretend, it is only a short madness in the vulgar, from which they may soon recover; whereas, I believe, it will appear to be very different in its causes, its symptoms, and its consequences; and prove a great example to illustrate the maxim I lately mentioned, That *truth* (however, sometimes late) *will at last prevail*.



No 15. Thursday, November 16. 1710.

— *medicque ut limite curras,*  
*Icare, ait, moneo: ne si demissior ibis,*  
*Unda gravet pennas; si celsior, ignis adurat.*

**I**T must be avowed, that, for some years past, there have been few things more wanted in England than such a paper, as this ought to be, and such as I will endeavour to make it, as long as it shall be found of any use, without entering into the violences of either party. Considering the many grievous misrepresentations of persons and things, it is highly requisite at this juncture, that the people throughout the kingdom should, if possible, be set right in their opinions by some impartial hand; which hath never been yet attempted; those who have hitherto undertaken it, being, upon every account, the least qualified of all mankind for such a work.

We live here under a limited monarchy, and under the doctrine and discipline of an excellent church. We are unhappily divided into two parties, both which pretend a mighty zeal for our religion and government, only they disagree about the means.



means. The evils we must fence against, are on one side fanaticism and infidelity in religion, and anarchy, under the name of a commonwealth, in government; on the other side, Popery, slavery, and the pretender from France. Now, to inform and direct us in our sentiments upon these weighty points, here are on one side two stupid illiterate scribblers, both of them *fanatics* by profession, I mean the *Review* and *Observer*; on the other side, we have an open *Non-juror* \*, whose character and person, as well as learning and good sense, discovered upon other subjects, do indeed deserve respect and esteem; but his *Rehearsal*, and the rest of his political papers, are yet more pernicious than those of the former two. If the generality of the people know not how to *talk* or *think*, until they have read their *lesson* in the papers of the week, what a misfortune is it, that their duty should be conveyed to them through such *vehicles* as those? For, let some gentlemen think what they please, I cannot but suspect, that the two worthies I first mentioned have, in a degree, done mischief among us; the mock authoritative manner of the one, and the insipid mirth of the other, however insupportable to reasonable ears, being of a level with great numbers among the lowest part of mankind. Neither was the author of the *Rehearsal*, while he continued that paper, less infectious to many persons of better figure, who perhaps were as well qualified, and much less prejudiced, to judge for themselves.

It was this reason that moved me to take the matter out of those *rough*, as well as those *dirty* hands; to let the remote and uninstructed part of the nation see, that they have been misled on both sides by mad ridiculous extremes, at a wide distance on each side from the truth; while the right path

\* The Rev. Mr. Charles Leslie.

is so broad and plain as to be easily kept, if they were once put into it.

Further, I had lately entered on a resolution to take very little notice of other papers, unless it were such, where the malice and falsehood had so great a mixture of wit and spirit, as would make them dangerous: which, in the present circle of scribblers, from twelve-pence to a halfpenny, I could easily foresee would not very frequently occur. But here again I am forced to dispense with my resolution, although it be only to tell my reader, what measures I am like to take on such occasions for the future. I was told that the paper called *The Observer* was twice filled last week with remarks upon a late *Examiner*. These I read with the first opportunity, and, to speak in the news-writers phrase, they give me *occasion for many speculations*. I observed with singular pleasure the nature of those *things* which the owners of them usually call *Answers*, and with what dexterity this matchless author had fallen into the whole art and cant of them. To transcribe here and there three or four detached lines of least weight in a discourse, and by a foolish comment mistake every syllable of the meaning, is what I have known many of a superior class to this formidable adversary, intitle, *An Answer*. This is what he hath exactly done in about thrice as many words as my whole discourse; which is so mighty an advantage over me, that I shall by no means engage in so unequal a combat; but, as far as I can judge of my own temper, entirely dismiss him for the future; heartily wishing he had a match exactly of his own size to meddle with, who should only have the odds of truth and honesty, which, as I take it, would be an effectual way to silence him for ever. Upon this occasion I cannot forbear a short story of a *fanatic farmer*, who lived in my neighbourhood, and was so great a disputant in religion, that the servants in all the families thereabouts reported,



reported, how he had confuted the bishop and all his clergy. I had then a footman, who was fond of reading the Bible ; and I borrowed a comment for him, which he studied so close, that in a month or two I thought him a match for the *farmer*. They disputed at several houses with a ring of servants and other people always about them ; where Ned explained his texts so full and clear to the capacity of his audience, and shewed the insignificancy of his adversary's cant to the meanest understanding, that he got the whole country of his side, and the farmer was cured of his itch of disputation for ever after.

The worst of it is, that this sort of outrageous party-writers I have spoken of above, are like a couple of make-bates, who inflame small quarrels by a thousand stories, and by keeping friends at a distance, hinder them from coming to a good understanding ; as they certainly would, if they were suffered to meet and debate between themselves. For, let any one examine a reasonable honest man of either side upon those opinions in religion and government, which both parties daily buffet each other about ; he shall hardly find one material point in difference between them. I would be glad to ask a question about *two great men* of the late ministry, how they came to be *Whigs* ? and by what figure of speech half a dozen others, lately put into great employments, can be called *Tories* ? I doubt whoever would suit the definition to the persons, must make it directly contrary to what we understood it at the time of the revolution.

In order to remove these misapprehensions among us, I believe, it will be necessary, upon occasion, to detect the malice and falsehood of some popular maxims, which those idiots scatter from the press twice a-week, and draw an hundred absurd consequences from them.

For example : I have heard it often objected as

a great piece of insolence in the clergy and others to say or hint, that the *church was in danger*, when it was voted otherwise in parliament some years ago; and the Queen herself, in her last speech, did openly condemn all such insinuations. Notwithstanding which, I did then, and do still, believe the church hath, since that vote, been in very imminent danger; and I think I might then have said so without the least offence to her Majesty, or either of the two houses. The Queen's words, as near as I can remember, mentioned the church being in danger from *her administration*; and whoever says or thinks that, deserves, in my opinion, to be hanged for a traitor: but that the church and state may be both in danger under the best princes that ever reigned, and without the least guilt of theirs, is such a truth as a man must be a great stranger to history and common sense to doubt. The wisest prince on earth may be forced by the necessity of his affairs, and the present power of an unruly faction, or deceived by the craft of ill-designing men. One or two ministers, most in his confidence, may *at first* have good intentions, but grow corrupted by time, by avarice, by love, by ambition, and have fairer terms offered them to gratify their passions or interests from *one set of men* than another, until they are too far involved for a retreat; and so be forced to take *seven spirits more wicked than themselves*. This is a very possible case; and will not *the last state of such men be worse than the first*? that is to say, will not the public, which was safe at first, grow in danger by such proceedings as these? And shall a faithful subject, who foresees and trembles at the consequences, be called *disaffected*, because he delivers his opinion, although the prince declares, as he justly may, that the danger is not owing to his administration? Or shall the prince himself be blamed, when, in such a juncture, he puts his affairs into other hands *with*

*the*



*the universal applause of his people?* As to the vote against those who should affirm the church was in danger, I think it likewise referred to danger from or under the Queen's administration, (for I neither have it by me, nor can suddenly have recourse to it); but if it were otherwise, I know not how it can refer to any dangers, but what were past, or at that time present; or how it could affect the future, unless the senators were all *inspired*, or at least that majority which voted it. Neither do I see it is any crime, farther than ill manners, to differ in opinion from a majority of either or both houses; and such ill manners, I must confess, I have been often guilty of for some years past, although I hope I never shall again.

Another topic of great use to these weekly inflamers is the young pretender in France, to whom their whole party is in a high measure indebted for all their greatness; and whenever it lies in their power, they may perhaps return their acknowledgements, as, out of their zeal for frequent *revolutions*, they were ready to do to his supposed father; which is a piece of *secret history*, that I hope will one day see the light; and I am sure it shall, if ever I am master of it, without regarding *whose ears may tingle*. But at present the word *pretender* is a term of art in *their* profession. A secretary of state cannot *desire leave to resign*, but the pretender is at bottom; the Queen cannot dissolve a parliament but it is a plot to dethrone herself and bring in the pretender; half a score stockjobbers are playing the knave in Exchange-alley, and there goes the pretender with a *sponge*. One would be apt to think, they bawl out the pretender so often to take off the terror; or tell so many lies about him to slacken our caution; that when he is really coming, *by their connivance*, we may not believe them; as the boy served the shepherds about the *coming of the wolf*: or perhaps they scare us with the pre-

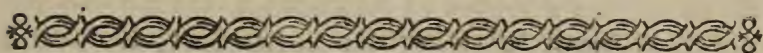
tender, because they think we may be like some diseases, that *come with a fright*. Do they not believe that the Queen's present ministry love her Majesty, at least as well as *some others* loved the church? And why is it not as great a mark of *disaffection* now, to say the *Queen is in danger*, as it was some months ago to affirm the same of the church? Suppose it be a false opinion, that the Queen's right is *hereditary and indefeasible*; yet how is it possible, that those who hold and believe such a doctrine, can be in the pretenders interest? His title is weakened by every argument that strengthens hers: it is as plain as the words of an act of parliament can make it, that her present Majesty is heir to the survivor of the late King and Queen her sister: is not that an *hereditary right*? What need we explain it any further? I have known an *article of faith* expounded in much looser and more general terms, and that by an author whose opinions are very much followed by a certain party \*. Suppose we go further, and examine the word *indefeasible*, with which some writers of late have made themselves so merry: I confess, it is hard to conceive how any law which the supreme power makes, may not by the same power be repealed; so that I shall not determine, whether the Queen's right be *indefeasible*, or no. But this I will maintain, that whoever affirms it so, is not guilty of a crime; for in that settlement of the crown after the resolution, where her present Majesty is in remainder, there are (as near as I can remember) these remarkable words, *to which we bind ourselves and our posterity for ever*. Lawyers may explain this, or call them words of form as they please; and reasoners may argue, that such an obligation is against the very nature of government; but a plain reader, who takes the words in their natural meaning, may be excused in think-

\* Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum.



ing a right so confirmed is *indefeasible*; and if there be an absurdity in such an opinion, he is not to answer for it.

P. S. When this paper was going to the press, the printer brought me two more *Observers*, wholly taken up in my *Examiner* upon lying, which I was at the pains to read; and they are just such an answer as the two others I have mentioned. This is all I have to say on that matter.



No 16. Thursday, November 23. 1710.

*Qui sunt boni cives? qui belli, qui domi de patria bene merentes, nisi qui patriæ beneficia meminerunt?*

I Will employ this present paper upon a subject, which of late hath very much affected me, which I have considered with a good deal of application, and made several inquiries about among those persons, who, I thought, were best able to inform me; and if I deliver my sentiments with some freedom, I hope it will be forgiven, while I accompany it with that tenderness which so nice a point requires.

I said, in a former paper, [No. 13.], that one specious objection to the late removals at court was the fear of giving uneasiness to a general who hath been long successful abroad; and accordingly the common clamour of tongues and pens for some months past hath run against the baseness, the inconstancy, and ingratitude of the whole kingdom to the Duke of Marlborough, in return of the  
most

most eminent services that ever were performed by a subject to his country, not to be equalled in history : and then, to be sure, some bitter stroke of detraction against Alexander and Cæsar, who never did us the least injury. Besides, the people, who read Plutarch, come upon us with parallels drawn from the Greeks and Romans, who ungratefully dealt with I know not how many of their most deserving generals : while the profounder politicians have seen pamphlets, where Tacitus and Machiavel have been quoted to shew the danger of too resplendent a merit. If a stranger should hear these furious outcries of ingratitude against our general, without knowing the particulars, he would be apt to inquire, where was his tomb, or whether he were allowed Christian burial ? not doubting but we had put him to some ignominious death. Or, hath he been tried for his life, and very narrowly escaped ; hath he been accused of high crimes and misdemeanors ; hath the prince seized on his estate, and left him to starve ; hath he been hooted at, as he passed the streets, by an ungrateful rabble ; have neither honours, offices, nor grants been conferred on him or his family ; have not he and they been barbarously stript of them all ; have not he and his forces been ill paid abroad ; and doth not the prince, by a scanty limited commission, hinder him from pursuing his own methods in the conduct of the war ; hath he no power at all of disposing of commissions as he pleaseth ; is he not severely used by the ministry or parliament, who yearly call him to a strict account ; hath the senate ever thanked him for good success, and have they not always publicly censured him for the least miscarriage ? — Will the accusers of the nation join issue upon any of these particulars, or tell us in what point our damnable sin of ingratitude lies ? — Why, it is plain and clear ; for while he is commanding abroad, the Queen dissolves her  
parliament



parliament, and changes her ministry at home ; in which *universal calamity* no less than *two persons* allied by marriage to the general have lost their places. Whence came this wonderful sympathy between the civil and military powers ? Will the troops in Flanders refuse to fight, unless they can have *their own* Lord Keeper, *their own* Lord President of the council, *their own* Chief Governor of Ireland, and *their own* parliament ? In a kingdom where the people are free, how came they to be so fond of having their counsels under the influence of their army, or those that lead it ? who, in all well-instituted states, had no commerce with the civil power, farther than to receive their orders, and obey them without reserve.

When a general is not so popular, either in his army or at home, as one might expect from a long course of success, it may perhaps be ascribed to his *wisdom*, or perhaps to his complexion. The possession of some one *quality*, or a defect in *some other*, will extremely damp the people's favour, as well as the love of the foldiers. Besides, this is not an age to produce favourites of the people, while we live under a Queen, who ingrosseth all our love and all our veneration ; and where the only way for a great general or minister to acquire any degree of subordinate affection from the public, must be by all marks of the most *entire submission and respect* to her sacred person and commands ; otherwise no pretence of great services, either in the field or the cabinet, will be able to screen them from universal hatred.

But the late ministry was closely joined to the general by friendship, interest, alliance, inclination, and opinion ; which cannot be affirmed of the present : and the ingratitude of the nation lieth in the people's *joining as one man* to wish that such a ministry should be changed. Is it not at the same time notorious to the whole kingdom, that nothing but

a tender regard to the general was able to preserve that ministry so long, until neither God nor man could suffer their continuance? Yet, in the highest ferment of things, we heard few or no reflections upon this great commander; but all seemed unanimous in wishing, he might still be at the head of the confederate forces; only at the same time, in case he were resolved to resign, they chose rather to turn their thoughts somewhere else than throw up all in despair. And this I cannot but add, in defence of the people with regard to the person we are speaking of, that in the high station he hath been for many years past, his *real defects* (as nothing human is without them) have in a detracting age been very sparingly mentioned either in libels or conversation, and all his *successes* very freely and universally applauded.

There is an active and a passive ingratitude. Applying both to this occasion, we may say, the first is when a prince or people returns good services with cruelty or ill usage; the other is, when good services are not at all, or very meanly rewarded. We have already spoken of the former; let us therefore, in the second place, examine, how the services of our general have been rewarded; and whether upon that article either prince or people have been guilty of ingratitude?

Those are the most valuable rewards which are given to us from the certain knowledge of the donor, that they *fit our temper best*: I shall therefore say nothing of the title of *Duke*, or the *Garter*, which the Queen bestowed upon the general in the beginning of her reign; but I shall come to *more substantial instances*, and mention nothing, which hath not been given in the face of the world. The lands of Woodstock may, I believe, be reckoned worth 40,000 l.; on the building of Blenheim castle, 200,000 l. have been already expended, although



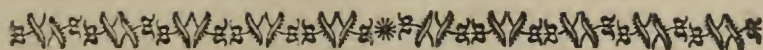
though it be not yet near finished; the grant of 5000 l. *per annum* on the post-office is richly worth 100,000 l.; his principality in Germany may be computed at 30,000 l.; pictures, jewels, and other gifts from foreign princes, 60,000 l.; the grant at the Pall-mall, the rangerſhip, &c. for want of more certain knowledge may be called 10,000 l.; his own and his Dutcheſs's employments at five years value, reckoning only the known and avowed ſalaries, are very low rated at 100,000 l. Here is a good deal above half a million of money; and, I dare ſay, thoſe who are loudeſt with the clamour of ingratitude, will readily own, that all this is but a trifle, in compariſon of what is *untold*.

The reaſon of my ſtating this account is only to convince the world, that we are not quite ſo ungrateful either as the Greeks or the Romans; and in order to adjust this matter with all fairneſs, I ſhall confine myſelf to the latter; who were much the more generous of the two. A victorious general of Rome, in the height of that empire, having *entirely ſubdued his enemies*, was rewarded with the larger triumph, and perhaps a ſtatue in the Forum, a bull for a ſacrifice, an embroidered garment to appear in, a crown of laurel, a monumental trophy with inſcriptions, ſometimes five hundred or a thouſand copper-coins were ſtruck on occaſion of the victory, which; doing honour to the general, we will place to his account; and laſtly, ſometimes, although not very frequently, a triumphal arch. Theſe are all the rewards that I can call to mind, which a victorious general received after his return from the moſt glorious expedition; having conquered ſome great kingdom, brought the king himſelf, his family, and nobles, to adorn the triumph in chains; and made the kingdom either a Roman province, or at beſt a poor depending ſtate in humble alliance to that em-

pire Now, of all these rewards I find but two, which were of real profit to the general, the *laurel crown*, made and sent him at the charge of the public, and the *embroidered garment*; but I cannot find, whether this last was paid for by the senate or the general; however, we will take the more favourable opinion; and in all the rest admit the whole expence, as if it were ready money in the general's pocket. Now, according to these computations on both sides, we will draw up two fair accounts; the one of Roman gratitude, and the other of British ingratitude, and set them together in balance.







*A bill of Roman gratitude.*

| <i>Imprim.</i>                                         | <i>L.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| For frank-incense and earthen<br>pots to burn it in    | 4         | 10        | 0         |
| A bull for sacrifice                                   | 8         | 0         | 1         |
| An embroidered garment                                 | 50        | 0         | 0         |
| A crown of laurel                                      | 0         | 0         | 2         |
| A statue                                               | 100       | 0         | 0         |
| A trophy                                               | 80        | 0         | 0         |
| A thousand copper medals, va-<br>lue halfpence a piece | 2         | 1         | 8         |
| A triumphal arch                                       | 500       | 0         | 0         |
| A triumphal car, valued as a<br>modern coach           | 100       | 0         | 0         |
| Casual charges at the triumph                          | 150       | 0         | 0         |
|                                                        | <hr/>     |           |           |
|                                                        | 994       | 11        | 10        |

*A bill of British ingratitude.*

| <i>Imprim.</i>        | <i>L.</i> |
|-----------------------|-----------|
| Woodstock             | 40,000    |
| Blenheim              | 200,000   |
| Post-office grant     | 100,000   |
| Mildenheim            | 30,000    |
| Pictures, jewels, &c. | 60,000    |
| Pall Mall grant, &c.  | 10,000    |
| Employments,          | 100,000   |
|                       | <hr/>     |
|                       | 540,000   |

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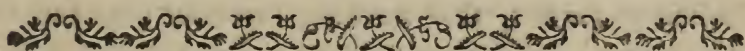
This is an account of the visible profits on both sides; and if the Roman general had any *private perquisites*, they may be easily discounted, and by more probable computations; and differ yet more upon the balance, if we consider, that all the gold and silver for *safeguards* and *contributions*, also all *valuable prizes* taken in the war, were openly exposed in the triumph, and then lodged in the capitol for the public service.

So that, upon the whole, we are not yet quite so bad at *worst*, as the Romans were at *best*. And I doubt, those who raise this hideous cry of ingratitude, may be mightily mistaken in the consequence they propose from such complaints. I remember a saying of Seneca, *Multos ingratos invenimus, plures facimus*; We find many ungrateful persons in the world, but we make more, by setting too high a rate upon our pretensions, and undervaluing the rewards we receive. When unreasonable bills are brought in, they ought to be taxed, or cut off in the middle. Where there have been long accounts between two persons, I have known one of them perpetually making large demands, and pressing for payments; who, when the accounts were cast up on both sides, was found to be debtor for some hundred. I am thinking, if a proclamation were issued out for every man to send in his *bill of merits*, and the lowest price he set them at, what a pretty sum it would amount to, and how many such islands as this must be sold to pay them. I form my judgement from the practice of those who sometimes happen to *pay themselves*, and, I dare affirm, would not be so unjust as to take a farthing more, than they think is due to their deserts. I will instance only in one article: A lady\* of my acquaintance appropriated twenty-six pounds a-year out of her allowance for certain uses, which her

\* Supposed to be her late Majesty, Q. Anne.



woman received †, and was to pay to the lady or her order, as it was called for. But after eight years it appeared upon the strictest calculation, that the woman had paid but four pounds a year, and sunk two and twenty for her own pocket. It is but supposing, instead of twenty-six pounds, twenty-six thousand; and by that you may judge, what the pretensions of *modern merit* are, where it happens to be its own paymaster.



No 17. Thursday, November 30. 1710.

*Quas res luxuries in flagitiis, avaritia in rapinis, superbia in contumeliis efficere potuisset; eas omnes sese, hoc uno prætore per triennium, pertulisse aiebant.*

WHEN I first undertook this paper, I was resolved to concern myself only with *things*, and not with *persons*. Whether I have kept or broken

† The matter was this. At the Queen's accession to the government. she used to lament to me, that the crown being impoverished by former grants, she wanted the power her predecessors had enjoyed to reward faithful servants; and she desired me to take out of the privy purse 2000 l. a year, in order to purchase for my advantage. As her Majesty was so good to provide for my children, and as the offices I enjoyed by her favour brought me in more than I wanted, I constantly declined it, till the time she was pleased to dismiss me from her service. Then indeed, I sent the queen one of her own letters, in which she had pressed me to take the 2000 l. a year; and I wrote at the same time to ask her Majesty, whether she would allow me to charge in the privy-purse accounts, which I was to send her, that yearly sum *from the time of the offer*, amounting to 18,000 l. Her Majesty was pleased to answer, I might charge it. This therefore I did. *Account of the conduct of the dowager Duchess of Marlborough*, p. 294. 295.

this

this resolution, I cannot recollect; and I will not be at the pains to examine, but leave the matter to those little antagonists, who may want a topic for criticism. Thus much I have discovered, that it is in writing as in building; where, after all our schemes and calculations, we are mightily deceived in our accounts, and often forced to make use of any materials we can find, that the work may be kept a-going. Besides, to speak my opinion, the *things* I have occasion to mention are so closely linked to *persons*, that nothing but *time* (the father of *oblivion*) can separate them. Let me put a parallel case: suppose I should complain, that last week my coach was within an inch of overturning in a smooth even way, and drawn by very gentle horses; to be sure all my friends would immediately lay the fault upon John, because he knew he then *presided* in my coach-box. Again, suppose I should discover some uneasiness to find myself, I knew not how, over head and ears in debt, altho' I were sure my tenants paid their rents very well, and that I never spent half my income; they would certainly advise me to turn off Mr. Oldfox \* my *receiver*, and take another. If, as a justice of peace, I should tell a friend, that my *warrants* and *mittimus*es were never drawn up as I would have them; that I had the misfortune to send an honest man to gaol and dismiss a knave; he would bid me no longer trust Charles and Harry †, my two clerks, whom he knew to be ignorant, wilful, assuming, and ill-inclined fellows. If I should add, that my tenants made me very uneasy with their squabbles and broils among themselves; he would counsel me to cashier Will Bigamy ‡, the *seneschal*

\* Lord Godolphin.

† Earl of Sunderland, and Henry Boyle, Esq; were at this time Secretaries of state.

‡ Lord Chancellor Cowper.



of my manor. And lastly, if my neighbour and I happened to have a misunderstanding about the *delivery of a message*, what could I do less than strip and discard the *blundering* or *malicious* rascal who carried it?

It is the same thing in the conduct of public affairs, where they have been managed with rashness or wilfulness, corruption, ignorance, or injustice. Barely to relate the facts, at least while they are fresh in memory, will as much reflect upon the *persons* concerned, as if we had told their names at length.

I have therefore since thought of another expedient, frequently practised with great safety and success by satirical writers; which is that of looking into history for some character bearing a resemblance to the person we would describe: and with the absolute power of altering, adding, or suppressing what circumstances we please, I conceive we must have very bad luck, or very little skill, to fail. However, some days ago in a coffeehouse looking into one of the politic weekly papers, I found the writer had fallen into this scheme; and I happened to light on that part, where he was describing a person, who from small beginnings grew (as I remember) to be constable of France, and had a very *haughty imperious wife*. I took the author for a friend to our *faction* (for so, with great propriety of speech, they call the Queen and ministry, almost the whole clergy, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom); and I said to a gentleman near me, that although I knew well enough what persons the author meant, yet there were several particulars in the *husband's* character, which I could not reconcile; for that of the *Lady*, it was just and adequate enough. But it seems I mistook the whole matter, and applied all I had read to a couple of persons, who were not at that time in the writer's thoughts.

Now,

Now, to avoid such a misfortune as this, I have been for some time consulting Livy and Tacitus to find out the character of a *princeps senatus*, a *prætor urbanus*, a *quæstor ærarius*, a *Cæsari ab epistolis*, and a *proconsul* : But among the worst of them I cannot discover one, from whom to draw a parallel without doing injury to a Roman memory : So that I am compelled to have recourse to Tully. But this Author, relating facts only as an orator, I thought it would be best to observe his method, and make an extract from such harangues of his against Verres, only still preserving the form of an oration. I remember a younger brother of mine, who deceased about two months ago, presented the world with a speech of Alcibiades against an Athenian brewer. Now, I am told for certain, that in those days there was no ale in Athens ; therefore that speech, or at least a great part of it, must needs be spurious. The difference between my brother and me is this ; he makes Alcibiades say a great deal more than he really did, and I make Cicero say a great deal less. This Verres \* had been the *Roman* governor of Sicily for three years ; and, on his return from his government, the Sicilians intreated Cicero to impeach him in the senate ; which he accordingly did in several orations, from whence I have faithfully translated and abstracted that which follows.

“ MY LORDS,

“ A pernicious opinion hath for some time prevailed, not only at Rome, but among our neighbouring nations, that a man who hath money enough, although he be ever so guilty, cannot be condemned in this place. But, however industriously this opinion be spread to cast an odium on the senate, we have brought before

\* Earl of Wharton Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

“ your



“ your Lordships Caius Verres, a person for his  
“ life and actions already condemned by all men :  
“ But, as he hopes, and gives out by the influence  
“ of his wealth to be here absolved ; in condemn-  
“ ing this man you have an opportunity of bely-  
“ ing that general scandal, of redeeming the *credit*  
“ *lost by former judgments*, and recovering the love  
“ of the Roman people, as well as of our neigh-  
“ bours. I have brought here a man before you,  
“ my Lords, who is a robber of the public treasure,  
“ an overturner of law and justice, and the dis-  
“ grace as well as destruction of the Sicilian pro-  
“ vince ; of whom, if you shall determine with  
“ equity and due severity, your authority will re-  
“ main entire, and upon such an establishment as  
“ it ought to be : But if his great riches will be  
“ able to force their way through that religious re-  
“ verence and truth, which become so awful an  
“ assembly ; I shall however obtain thus much,  
“ that the defect will be laid where it ought ; and  
“ that it shall not be objected, that the criminal  
“ was not produced, or that there wanted an  
“ orator to accuse him. This man, my Lords,  
“ hath publicly said, that those ought not to be a-  
“ fraid of accusations, who have only robbed e-  
“ nough for their own support and maintenance ;  
“ but that he hath plundered sufficient to bribe  
“ numbers ; and that nothing is so high or so  
“ holy, which money cannot corrupt. Take that  
“ support from him, and he can have no other  
“ left : for what eloquence will be able to defend  
“ a man, whose life hath been tainted with so  
“ many scandalous vices, and who hath been so  
“ long condemned by the universal opinion of the  
“ world ? To pass over the foul stains and igne-  
“ miny of his youth, his corrupt management in  
“ all employments he hath borne, his treachery  
“ and irreligion, his injustice and oppression ; he  
“ hath left of late such monuments of his vil-  
VOL. II. S f “ lanics

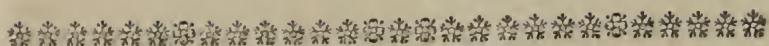
“ lanies in Sicily, made such havock and confusion  
 “ there, during his government, that the province  
 “ cannot by any means be restored to its former  
 “ state, and hardly recover itself at all under many  
 “ years, and by a long succession of good gover-  
 “ nors. While this man governed in that island,  
 “ the Sicilians had neither the benefit of our laws  
 “ nor their own, nor even of common right. In  
 “ Sicily no man now possesses more, than what the  
 “ governor’s lust and avarice have overlooked, or  
 “ what he was forced to neglect out of mere  
 “ weariness and satiety of oppression. Every  
 “ thing, where he presided, was determined  
 “ by his arbitray will ; and the best subjects he  
 “ treated as enemies. To recount his abominable  
 “ debaucheries would offend any modest ear, since  
 “ so many could not preserve their daughters and  
 “ wives from his lust. I believe there is no man,  
 “ who ever heard his name, that cannot relate his  
 “ enormities. We bring before you in judgment,  
 “ my Lords, a public robber, an adulterer, a  
 “ DEFILER OF ALTARS \*, an enemy of religion  
 “ and of all that is sacred. In Sicily he sold all  
 “ employments of judicature, magistracy, and trust,  
 “ places in the council, and the *priesthood* itself, to  
 “ the highest bidder ; and hath plundered that  
 “ island of forty millions of sesterces. And here  
 “ I cannot but observe to your Lordships, in what  
 “ manner Verres passed the day : the morning was  
 “ spent in taking bribes and selling employments ;  
 “ the rest of it in drunkenness and lust. His dis-  
 “ course at table was scandalously unbecoming the  
 “ dignity of his station ; noise, brutality, and ob-  
 “ sceneness. One particular I cannot omit ; that,  
 “ in the high character of governor of Sicily, up-

\* The story of the Lord Wharton is true, who, with some o-  
 ther wretches, went into a pulpit, and defiled it in the most filthy  
 manner.



“ on a solemn day, a day set apart for public  
 “ prayer for the safety of the commonwealth, he  
 “ stole at evening in a chair to a married woman  
 “ of infamous character, against all decency and  
 “ prudence, as well as against all laws both human  
 “ and divine. Didst thou think, O Verres ! the  
 “ government of Sicily was given thee with so large  
 “ a commission, only, by the power of that, to  
 “ break all the bars of law, modesty, and duty ;  
 “ to suppose all mens fortunes thine, and leave no  
 “ house free from thy rapine and lust ?” &c.

This extract, to deal ingenuously, hath cost me more pains, than I think it is worth ; having only served to convince me, that modern corruptions are not to be paralleled by antient examples, without having recourse to poetry or fable. For instance I never read in story of a law enacted to take away the force of all laws whatsoever ; by which a man may safely commit, upon the last of June, what he would infallibly be hanged for if he committed on the first of July ; by which the greatest criminals may escape, provided they continue long enough in power to antiquate their crimes, and by stifling them a while can deceive the legislature into an *amnesty*, of which the enactors do not at that time foresee the consequence. A cautious merchant will be apt to suspect, when he finds a man who has the repute of a cunning dealer, and with whom he hath old accounts, urging for a general release. When I reflect on this proceeding, I am not surprisèd that those who contrived a parliamentary *sponge* for their *crimes*, are now afraid of a new revolution *sponge* for their *money* ; and if it were possible to contrive a *sponge* that could only affect those who had need of the other, perhaps it would not be ill employed.



No 18. Thursday, December 9. 1710.

*Quippe ubi fas verſum atque nefas; tot bella per orbem; Tam multæ ſcclerum facies*———

I AM often violently tempted to let the world freely know, who the author of this paper is; to tell them my name and titles at length; which would prevent abundance of inconfiſtent criticiſms I daily hear upon it. Thoſe who are enemies to the notions and opinions I would advance, are ſometimes apt to quarrel with the *Examiner* as defective in point of wit, and ſometimes of truth. At other times they are ſo generous and candid as to allow, it is written by a club, and that very great *hands* have *fingers* in it. As for thoſe who only appear its adverſaries in print, they give me but very little pain. The paper I hold, lies at my mercy, and I can govern it as I pleaſe; therefore, when I begin to find the wit too bright, the learning too deep, and the ſatire too keen for me to deal with, (a very frequent caſe, no doubt, where a man is conſtantly attacked by ſuch ſhrewd adverſaries), I peaceably fold it up, or fling it aſide, and read no more. It would be happy for me to have the ſame power over people's tongues, and not be forced to hear my own work railed at, and commended, fifty times a day; affecting all the while a countenance wholly unconcerned, and joining out of policy or good manners with the judgment of both parties; this, I confeſs, is too great a hardſhip for ſo baſhful and unexperienced a writer.

But, alas, I lie under another diſcouragement of much more weight. I was very unfortunate in the choice



choice of my party, when I set up to be a writer. Where is the merit, or what opportunity to discover our wit, our courage, or our learning, in drawing our pens for the defence of a cause, which the Queen and both houses of parliament, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom, have so unanimously embraced? I am cruelly afraid, we politic authors must begin to lessen our expenses, and be for the future at the mercy of our printers. All hopes are now gone of writing ourselves into places or pensions. A certain starving author, who *worked* under the late administration, told me with a heavy heart above a month ago, that he, and some others of his brethren, had secretly offered their service dog-cheap, to the present ministry, but were all refused: and are now maintained by contribution, like *Jacobites* or *fanatics*. I have been of late employed out of perfect commiseration, in doing them good offices: For, whereas some were of opinion, that those hungry zealots should not be suffered any longer in their malapert way to snarl at the present course of public proceedings; and whereas others proposed, that they should be limited to a certain number, and permitted to write for their *masters*, in the same manner as counsel are assigned for other criminal, that is, to say all they can in defence of their client, but not reflect upon the court: I humbly gave my advice, that they should be suffered to write on, as they used to do; which I did purely out of regard to their persons; for I hoped it would keep them out of harm's way, and prevent them from falling into evil courses; which, although of little consequence, to the public, would certainly be *fatal to themselves*. If I have room at the bottom of this paper, I will transcribe a petition to the present ministry, sent me by one of these authors in behalf of himself and fourscore of his brethren.

For

For my own part, notwithstanding the little encouragement to be hoped for at this time from the men in power, I shall continue my paper, till either the world or myself grow weary of it; the latter is easily determined; and for the former, I shall not leave it to the partiality of either party, but to the infallible judgment of my printer. One principal end I designed by it, was to undeceive those well-meaning people, who have been drawn unawares into a wrong sense of things, either by the common prejudices of education in company, the great personal qualities of some party-leaders, or the foul misrepresentations that were constantly made of all who durst differ from them in the smallest article. I have known such men struck with the thoughts of some late changes, which, as they pretend to think, were made without any reason visible to the world. In answer to this, it is not sufficient to alledge, what no body doubts, that a good and wise prince may be allowed to change his ministers without giving a reason to his subjects; because it is probable, that he will not make such a change without very important reasons; and a good subject ought to suppose, that in such a case there are such reasons, although he be not apprised of them; otherwise he must inwardly tax his prince of capriciousness, inconstancy, or ill design. Such reasons indeed may not be obvious to persons prejudiced, or at a great distance, or short thinkers; and therefore, if they be no secrets of state, nor any ill consequences to be apprehended from their publication, it is no uncommendable work in any private hand to lay them open for the satisfaction of all men. And, if what I have already said, or shall hereafter say, of this kind, be thought to reflect upon *persons*, although none have been named, I know not how it can possibly be avoided. The Queen in her speech mentions *with great concern*, that “the  
“ navy



“ navy and other offices are burthened with heavy  
“ debts ; and desires, that the like may be pre-  
“ vented for the time to come.” And, if it be  
*now* possible to prevent the continuance of an evil,  
that hath been so long growing upon us, and is  
arrived to such a height ; surely those corruptions  
and mismanagements must have been great, which  
first introduced them, before our taxes were eaten  
up by annuities.

If I were able to rip up and discover, in all their  
colours, only about eight or nine thousand of the  
most scandalous abuses that have been committed  
in all parts of public management for twenty years  
past by a certain set of men and their instruments,  
I should reckon it some service to my country and  
posterity. But to say the truth, I should be glad  
the authors names were conveyed to future times  
along with their actions. For although the pre-  
sent age may understand well enough the little  
hints we give, the parallels we draw, and the  
characters we describe ; yet all this will be  
lost to the next. However, if these papers, *re-  
duced into a more durable form*, should happen to  
live till our grandchildren be men, I hope they  
may have curiosity enough to consult annals and  
compare dates, in order to find out, what names  
were then intrusted with the conduct of affairs, in  
the consequences whereof themselves will so deeply  
share ; like a heavy debt in a private family, which  
often lies an incumbrance upon an estate for three  
generations.

But leaving the care of informing posterity to  
better pens, I shall, with due regard to truth, dis-  
cretion, and the safety of my person from the men  
of *the new-fangled moderation*, continue to take all  
proper opportunities of letting the misled part of  
the people see, how grossly they have been abused,  
and in what particulars. I shall also endeavour to  
convince them, that the present course we are in is  
the

the most probable means, with the blessing of God, to extricate ourselves out of all our difficulties.

Among those who are pleased to write or talk against this paper, I have observed a strange manner of reasoning, which I should be glad to hear them explain themselves upon. They make no ceremony of exclaiming upon all occasions against a change of ministry in so critical and dangerous a conjuncture. What shall we, who heartily approve and join in those proceedings, say in defence of them? We own the juncture of affairs to be as they describe; we are pushed for an answer; and are forced at last freely to confess, that the corruption and abuses in every branch of the administration, were so numerous and intolerable, that all things must have ended in ruin without some speedy reformation. This I have already asserted in a former paper; and the replies I have read, or heard, have been in plain terms to affirm the direct contrary; and not only to defend and celebrate the late persons and proceedings, but to threaten me with law and vengeance for casting reflections on so many great and honourable men, whose "birth, virtue, " and abilities, whose morals and religion, whose " love of their country, and its constitution in " church and state," were so universally allowed; and all this set off with odious comparisons, reflecting on the present choice: is not this in plain and direct terms to tell all the world, that the Queen hath, in a most dangerous crisis, turned out a whole set of the best ministers that ever served a prince, without any manner of reason, but her royal pleasure, and brought in others of a character directly contrary? And how so vile an opinion as this can consist with the least pretence to loyalty or good manners, let the world determine.

I confess myself so little a refiner in politics, as not to be able to discover what other motive, besides obedience to the Queen, a sense of public danger,



ger, and a true love of their country, joined with invincible courage, could spirit up those great men who have now, under her Majesty's authority undertaken the direction of affairs. What can they expect, but the utmost efforts of malice, from a set of enraged domestic adversaries, perpetually watching over their conduct, crossing all their designs, and using every art to foment divisions among them, in order to join with the weakest, upon any rupture? The difficulties they must encounter are nine times more and greater than ever; and the prospects of interest, after the *reapings* and *gleanings* of so many years, nine times less. Every misfortune at home or abroad, although the necessary consequence of former counsels, will be imputed to them; and all the good success given to the merit of former schemes. A sharper hath held your cards all the evening, played booty, and lost your money; and, when things are almost desperate, you employ an honest gentleman to retrieve your losses.

I would ask, whether the Queen's speech doth not contain her intentions in every particular relating to the public, that a good subject, a Briton, and a Protestant can possibly have at heart? "To carry  
" on the war in all its parts, particularly in Spain,  
" with the utmost vigour, in order to procure a  
" safe and honourable peace for us and our allies;  
" to find some ways of paying the debts of the navy;  
" to support and encourage the church of England;  
" to preserve the British constitution according to the union;  
" to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences;  
" and to employ none but such as are for the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover." It is known enough, that speeches on these occasions are ever digested by the advice of those who are in the chief confidence; and consequently, that these are the sentiments of her Majesty's ministers, as

well as her own ; and we see the two houses have unanimously agreed with her in every article. When the least counterpaces are made to any of these resolutions, it will then be time enough for our malecontents to bawl out, “ Popery, persecution, arbitrary power, and the pretender.” In the mean while, it is a little hard to think, that this island can hold but six men of honesty and ability enough to serve their prince and country ; or that our safety should depend upon their credit, any more than it would upon the breath in their nostrils. Why should not a *revolution* in the ministry be sometimes necessary, as well as a *revolution* in the crown ? It is to be presumed, the former is at least as lawful in itself, and perhaps the experiment not quite so dangerous. The *revolution* of the *sun* about the *earth* was formerly thought a necessary expedient to solve appearances, although it left many difficulties unanswered ; until philosophers contrived a better, which is that of the *earth's revolution* about the *sun*. This is found upon experience to save much time and labour, to correct many irregular motions, and is better suited to the respect due from a *planet* to a *fixed star*.



No 19. Thursday December 14, 1710.

*Sunt quibus in satira videar nimis acer, et ultra  
Legem tendere opus ; sine nervis altera quicquid  
Composui pars esse putat——*

WHEN the printer came last week for his copy, he brought along with him a bundle of those papers, which, in the phrase of *Whig coffeehouses*, have *swinged off the Examiner* ; most of which I  
had



had never seen or heard of before. I remember some time ago in one of the *Tatlers* to have read a letter, wherein several reasons are assigned for the present corruption and degeneracy of our taste; but I think the writer hath omitted the principal one, which I take to be the prejudice of parties. Neither can I excuse either side of this infirmity: I have heard the arrantest drivellers *pro* and *con* commended for their shrewdness, even by men of tolerable judgment; and the best performances exploded as nonsense and stupidity. This indeed may partly be imputed to policy and prudence; but it is chiefly owing to that blindness, which prejudice and passions cast over the understanding: I mention this because I think it properly within my province in quality of *Examiner*. And having granted more than is usual for an enemy to do, I must now take leave to say, that so weak a *cause*, and so ruined a *faction*, were never provided with pens more resembling their condition, or less suited to their occasions.

*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis,  
Tempus eget*—————

This is the more to be wondered at, when we consider, they have the full liberty of the press; that they have no other way left to recover themselves; and that they want not men of excellent parts to set their arguments in the best light they will bear. Now, if two men would argue on both sides with fairness, good sense, and good manners, it would be no ill entertainment to the town, and perhaps be the most effectual means to reconcile us. But I am apt to think, that men of great genius are hardly brought to prostitute their pens in a very odious *cause*; which besides is more properly undertaken by noise and impudence, by gross railing and scurrility, by calumny and lying, and by little

trifling cavils and carpings in the wrong place, which those *whiffers* use for arguments and answers.

I was well enough pleased with a story of one of these answerers, who in a paper last week found many faults with a late calculation of mine. Being, it seems, more deeply learned than his fellows, he was resolved to begin his answer with a Latin verse, as well as other folks. His business was to look out for something against an *Examiner*, that would pretend to *tax* accounts; and turning over Virgil he had the luck to find these words,

—*fugiant examina taxos* :

So down they went, and out they would have come, if one of his unlucky *prompters* had not hindered it,

I here declare, once for all, that if these people will not be quiet, I shall take the bread out of their mouths, and answer the *Examiner* myself; which I protest I have never yet done, although I have been often charged with it; neither have those answers been written or published with my privity, as malicious people are pleased to give out; nor do I believe the common *Whiggish* report, that the authors are hired by the ministry to give my paper a value.

But the friends of this paper have given me more uneasiness with their impatience, than its enemies by their answers. I heard myself censured last week by some of the former for promising to discover the corruptions of the late administration, but never performing any thing. The latter, on the other side, are thundering out their *anathemas* against me for discovering so many. I am at a loss how to decide between these contraries, and shall therefore proceed after my own way, as I have hitherto done; my design being of more importance, than that of writing only to gratify the spleen of one side, or provoke



provoke that of the other, although it may occasionally have both effects.

I shall therefore go on to relate some facts, that, in my humble opinion, were no hinderance to the change of the ministry.

The first I shall mention, was that of introducing certain new phrases into the court-style, which had been very seldom or never made use of in former times. They usually run in the following terms. "Madam, I cannot serve you while such a one is in employment. I desire, humbly, to resign my commission, if Mr. — continues secretary of state. I cannot answer that the city will lend money, unless my L—d — be President of the council. I must beg leave to surrender, except — has the staff. I must not accept the seals, unless — comes into the other office." This hath been the language of late years from subjects to their prince. Thus they stood upon terms, and must have their own conditions to ruin the nation. Nay, this dutiful manner of capitulating had spread so far, that every understrapper began at length to perk up and assume; he "expected a regiment; or his son must be a major; or his brother a collector;" else he threatened to "vote according to his conscience."

Another of their glorious attempts was the clause intended in the bill "for the encouragement of learning," by taking off the obligation upon fellows of colleges in both universities to enter upon holy orders: the design of which, as I have heard the undertakers often confess, was to remove the care of educating youth out of the hands of the clergy, who are apt to infuse into their pupils too great a regard for the church and the monarchy. But there was a farther secret in this clause, which may best be discovered by the first projectors, or at least the garblers of it: and these are known to be Collins

lins and Tindal, in conjunction with a most *pious lawyer*, their disciple.

What shall we say to their prodigious skill in *arithmetic*, discovered so constantly in their decision of elections; where they were able to make out by the *rule of false*, that *three* were more than *three and twenty*, and *fifteen* than *fifty*? Nay, it was a maxim, which I never heard any of them dispute, That in determining elections they were not to consider where the right lay, but which of the *candidates* was likelier to be true to the *cause*. This they used to illustrate by a very apt and decent similitude of gaming with a sharper; if you cannot cheat as well as he you are certainly undone.

Another cast of their politics was that of endeavouring to impeach an innocent lady \*, for no reason imaginable, but her faithful and diligent service to the Queen, and the favour her Majesty bore to her upon that account, when others had acted contrary in so shameful a manner. What else was her crime? Had she “treated her royal mistress with  
“insolence or neglect? Had she enriched herself  
“by a long practice of bribery, and obtaining exorbitant grants? Had she ingrossed her Majesty’s  
“favours, without admitting any access but through  
“her means? Had she heaped employments upon  
“herself, her family, and dependents? Had she  
“an imperious haughty behaviour?” Or, after all, was it a perfect blunder, and mistake of “one person for another?” I have heard of a man, who lay all night on a rough pavement, and in the morning wondering what it could possibly be that made him rest so ill, happening to see a feather under him, imputed the uneasiness of his lodging to that. I remember likewise the story of a giant in Rabelais, who used to feed upon *wind-mills*; but was unfor-

\* The Lady Masham.



tunately choaked with a small lump of *fresh butter* before a warm oven.

And here I cannot but observe, how very refined some people are in their generosity and gratitude. There is a certain great person (I shall not say of what sex) who for many years past was the constant mark and butt, against which our present malecontents used to discharge their resentment; upon whom they bestowed all the terms of scurrility that malice, envy, and indignation could invent; whom they publicly accused of every vice that can possess a human heart; pride, covetousness, ingratitude, oppression, treachery, dissimulation, violence, and fury, all in the highest extremes: but of late they have changed their language on a sudden; that person is now the most faithful and just that ever served a prince; that person, originally differing from them in principles as far as east from west, but united in practice, and falling together, they are now reconciled, and find twenty resemblances between each other, which they could never discover before. *Tanti est, ut placeam tibi perire!*

But to return: How could it be longer suffered in a free nation, that all avenues to preferment should be shut up, except a very few; when one or two stood constant *centry*, who doctored all favours they handed down, or spread a huge invisible net between the prince and subject, through which nothing of value could pass? And here I cannot but admire at one consequence from this management, which is of an extraordinary nature. Generally speaking, princes, who have ill ministers, are apt to suffer in their reputation, as well as in the love of the people: but it was not so with the Queen. When the sun is over-cast by those clouds he exhales from the earth, we still acknowledge his light and influence, and at last find he can dispel, and drive them down to the horizon. The wisest prince by the necessity of affairs, the misrepresentations

tations of designing men, or the innocent mistakes even of a good predecessor, may find himself encompassed by a crew of courtiers, whom time, opportunity, and success, have miserably corrupted: and if he can save himself and his people from ruin under the *worst* administration, what may not his subjects hope for, when with their universal applause he changeth hands, and maketh use of the *best*?

Another great objection with me against the late party, was the cruel tyranny they put upon *conscience* by a *barbarous inquisition*, refusing to admit the least *toleration* or *indulgence*. They imposed an hundred *tests*; but could never be prevailed on to *dispense* with, or *take off* the smallest, or even to admit of *occasional conformity*; but went on daily (as their apostle Tindal expresseth it) “narrowing  
“their terms of communion,” pronouncing nine parts in ten of the kingdom *heretics*, and shutting them out of the pale of their church. These very men, who talk so much of a *comprehension in religion* among us, how came they to allow so little of it in *politics*, which is *their sole religion*? You shall hear them pretending to bewail the animosities kept up between the church of England and dissenters, where the differences in opinion are so few and inconsiderable; yet these very sons of *moderation* were pleased to *excommunicate* every man who disagreed with them in the smallest *article* of their *political creed*, or who refused to receive any new *article*, how difficult soever to digest, which the leaders imposed at pleasure to serve their own interest.

I will quit this subject for the present, when I have told one story. “There was a great king in  
“Scythia, whose dominions were bounded on the  
“north by the poor mountainous territories of a  
“petty lord, who paid homage as the king’s vassal.  
“The Scythian prime minister, being largely *bribed*,  
“indirectly obtained his master’s consent to suffer  
“this



“ this lord to build forts, and provide himself with  
 “ arms, under pretence of preventing the inroads  
 “ of the Tartars. This little depending sovereign,  
 “ finding he was now in a condition to be trouble-  
 “ some, began to insist upon terms, and threaten-  
 “ ed upon every occasion to unite with the Tartars:  
 “ upon which the prime minister, who began to be  
 “ in pain about his *head*, proposed a *match* betwixt  
 “ his master, and the only daughter of this tribu-  
 “ tary lord, which he had the good luck to bring  
 “ to pass; and from that time valued himself as  
 “ author of a most glorious *union*, which indeed  
 “ was grown of absolute necessity by his corrup-  
 “ tion.” This passage, cited literally from an old  
 history of Sarmatia, I thought fit to set down on  
 purpose to perplex little smattering remarkers, and  
 put them upon the hunt for an application.



No. 20. Thursday, December 21. 1710.

—*pugnacem scirent sapiente minorem.*

I AM very much at a loss how to proceed upon the subject intended in this paper, which a new incident hath led me to engage in. The subject I mean, is that of *soldiers* and the *army*; but being a matter wholly out of my trade, I shall handle it in as cautious a manner as I am able.

It is certain, that the art of war hath suffered great changes almost in every age and country of the world; however, there are some maxims relating to it, that will be eternal truths, and which every reasonable man must allow.

In the early times of Greece and Rome, the armies of those states were composed of their

citizens, who took no pay, because the quarrel was their own; and therefore the war was usually decided in one campaign; or, if it lasted longer, yet in winter the soldiers returned to their several callings, and were not distinguished from the rest of the people. The Gothic governments in Europe, although they were of military institution, yet observed almost the same method. I shall instance only here in England: Those who held lands *in capite* of the King, were obliged to attend him in his wars with a certain number of men, who all held lands from them at easy rents on that condition. These fought without pay; and, when the service was over, returned again to their farms. It is recorded of William Rufus, that being absent in Normandy, and engaged in a war with his brother, he ordered twenty thousand men to be raised, and sent over from hence to supply his army; but having struck up a peace before they were embarked, he gave them leave to disband, upon condition they would pay him ten shillings a man, which amounted to a mighty sum in those days.

Consider a kingdom as a great family, whereof the prince is the father, and it will appear plainly, that mercenary troops are only *servants armed*, either to awe the *children* at home, or else to defend from invaders the family, who are otherwise employed, and chuse to contribute out of their stock for paying their defenders, rather than leave their affairs to be neglected in their absence. The art of making soldiery a trade, and keeping armies in pay, seems in Europe to have had two originals: the first was *usurpation*; when popular men destroyed the liberties of their country, and seized the power into their own hands, which they were forced to maintain by hiring guards to bridle the people. Such were anciently the *tyrants* in most of the small states of Greece; and such were those in several parts



parts of Italy about three or four centuries ago, as Machiavel informs us. The other original of mercenary armies seems to have risen from larger kingdoms, or commonwealths, which had subdued provinces at a distance, and were forced to maintain troops upon them to prevent insurrections from the natives. Of this sort were Macedon, Carthage, and Rome of old; Venice and Holland at this day, as well as most kingdoms of Europe. So that mercenary forces in a free state, whether *monarchy* or *commonwealth*, seem only necessary either for preserving their conquests, (which in such governments it is not prudent to extend too far), or else for maintaing war at a distance.

In this last, which at present is our most important case, there are certain maxims, that all wise governments have observed.

The first I shall mention is, That no *private* man should have a commission to be *general for life*, let his merit and services be ever so great. Or, if a prince be unadvisedly brought to offer such a commission in one hand, let him (to save time and blood) deliver up his *crown* with the other. The Romans, in the height and perfection of their government, usually sent out one of the new *consuls* to be general against their most formidable enemy, and recalled the old one; who often returned before the next election, and, according as he had merit, was sent to command in some other part; which perhaps was continued to him for a second, and sometimes a third year. But if Paulus Æmilius, or Scipio himself, had presumed to move the *senate* to continue their *commissions for life*, they would certainly have fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy of the people. Cæsar indeed (between whom and a certain general, some of late, with much discretion, have made a *parallel*) had his command in Gaul continued to him for five years; and was afterwards made perpetual dictator, that is to say,

*general for life*; which gave him the power and the will of utterly destroying the Roman liberty. But in his time the Romans were very much degenerated, and great corruptions had crept into their morals and discipline. However, we see there still were some remains of a noble spirit among them; for when Cæsar sent to be chosen consul, notwithstanding his absence, they decreed he should come in person, give up his command, and *petere more majorum*.

It is not impossible, but a general may desire such a commission out of *inadvertency*, at the *instigation of his friends*, or perhaps of his *enemies*; or merely for the *benefit and honour of it*, without intending any such *dreadful consequences*; and in that case a wise prince or state may barely refuse it without shewing any marks of their displeasure. But the request in its own nature is highly criminal, and ought to be entered so upon record, to terrify *others* in time to come from venturing to make it.

Another maxim to be observed by a free state engaged in war, is, to keep the military power in absolute subjection to the civil, nor ever suffer the former to influence or interfere with the latter. A general and his army are *servants*, hired by the civil power to act, as they are directed from thence, and with a commission large or limited, as the administration shall think fit; for which they are largely paid in profit and honour. The whole system by which armies are governed, is quite *alien* from the peaceful institutions of states at home; and if the rewards be so inviting as to tempt a senator to take a post in the army, whilst he is there on his duty, he ought to consider himself in no other capacity. I know not any sort of men so apt as soldiers are to reprimand those who presume to interfere in what relates to their trade. When they hear any of us, in a coffeehouse, wondering that such a victory was not pursued; complaining that  
such



such a town cost more men and money than it was worth to take it; or that such an opportunity was lost of fighting the enemy; they presently reprove us, and often with justice enough, for meddling in matters out of our sphere; and clearly convince us of our mistakes by terms of art that none of us understand. Nor do we escape so; for they reflect with the utmost contempt on our ignorance; that we, who sit at home in ease and security, never stirring from our fire-sides, should pretend, from books and general reason, to argue upon military affairs; which after all, if we may judge from the share of intellectuals in some who are said to excel that way, is not so very profound, or difficult a science. But if there be any weight in what they offer, as perhaps there may be a great deal, surely these gentlemen have a much weaker pretence to concern themselves in matters of the cabinet, which are always either far above, or much beside their capacities. Soldiers may as well pretend to prescribe rules for trade, to determine points in philosophy, to be moderators in an assembly of divines, or direct in a court of justice, as to misplace their talent in examining affairs of state, especially in what relates to the *choice of ministers*, who are never so likely to be ill chosen as when approved by them. It would be endless to shew, how pernicious all steps of this nature have been in many parts and ages of the world. I shall only produce two at present; one in Rome, the other in England. The first is of Cæsar: when he came to the city with his soldiers to *settle the ministry*, there was an end of their liberty for ever. The second was in the great rebellion against K. Charles I. The King and both houses were agreed upon the terms of a peace; but the officers of the army, as Ludlow relates it, set a guard upon the house of Commons, took a list of the members, and kept all by force out of the house, except those who were for bring-  
ing

ing the King to a trial. Some years after, when they erected a military government, and ruled the island by major-generals, we received most admirable instances of their skill in politics. To say the truth, such formidable sticklers can have but two reasons for desiring to interfere in the administration; the first is that of Cæsar and Cromwell, of which God forbid I should accuse or suspect any body, since the second is pernicious enough, and that is, *to preserve those in power who are for perpetuating a war, rather than see others advanced, who, they are sure, will use all proper means to promote a safe and honourable peace.*

Thirdly, Since it is observed of armies, that in the present age they are brought to some degree of humanity, and a more regular demeanor to each other and to the world, than in former times, it is certainly a good maxim to endeavour preserving this temper among them; without which they would soon degenerate into *savages*. To this end, it would be prudent, among other things, to forbid that detestable custom of *drinking to the damnation or confusion* of any person whatsoever.

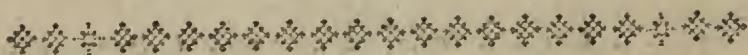
Such desperate acts, and the opinions infused along with them into heads already inflamed by youth and wine, are enough to scatter madness and sedition through a whole camp. So seldom upon *their knees to pray*, and so often to *curse*! this is not properly atheism, but a sort of *anti-religion* prescribed by the devil, and which an atheist of common sense would scorn as an absurdity. I have heard it mentioned as a common practice last autumn, *some where or other, to drink damnation and confusion* (and this with circumstances very aggravating and horrid) to the *new ministry*, and to those who had any hand in turning out the *old*; that is to say, to those persons whom her Majesty has thought fit to employ in her greatest affairs, with something *more than a glance against the Queen herself.*



*herself*. And if it be true, that these *orgies* were attended with certain *doubtful words* of *standing by their general*, who without question abhorred them, let any man consider the consequence of such dispositions, if they should happen to spread. I could only wish, for the honour of the army, as well as of the Queen and ministry, that a remedy had been applied to the disease in the *place* and *time* where it grew. If men of such principles were able to propagate them in a camp, and were sure of a *general for life*, who had any tincture of ambition, we might soon bid farewell to ministers and parliaments, whether new or old.

I am only sorry, such an accident hath happened towards the close of a war; when it is chiefly the interest of those gentlemen, who have posts in the army, to behave themselves in such a manner, as might encourage the legislature to make some provision for them, when there will be no further need of their service. They are to consider themselves as persons, by their education unqualified for many other stations of life. Their fortunes will not suffer them to retain to a party after its *fall*, nor have they weight or abilities to help towards its *resurrection*. Their future dependence is wholly upon the prince and parliament, to which they will never make their way by *solemn execrations of the ministry*; a ministry of the Queen's own election, and fully answering the wishes of her people. This unhappy step in some of *their brethren* may pass for an uncontrollable argument, that politics are not their business or their element. The fortune of war hath raised several persons up to swelling titles, and great commands over numbers of men, which they are too apt to transfer along with them into civil life, and appear in all companies, as if they were at the head of their regiments, with a sort of deportment, that ought to have been dropt behind in that short passage to Harwich. It  
puts

puts me in mind of a dialogue in Lucian, where Charon waſting one of their predecessors over Styx, ordered him to ſtrip off his armour and fine cloaths, yet ſtill thought him too heavy; “but,” ſaid he, “put off likewise that pride and preſumption, thoſe high ſwelling words, and that vain glory;” becauſe they were of no uſe on the other ſide the water. Thus, if all that array of military grandeur were confined to the proper ſcene, it would be much more for the intereſt of the owners, and leſs offensive to their fellow-ſubjects.



N<sup>o</sup> 21. Thursday, December 28, 1710.

*Nam et majorum instituta tueri, sacris ceremoniisque retinendis, sapientis est.*

— *Ruituraque semper*  
*Stat (mirum!) moles —*

Whoever is a true lover of our constitution, must needs be pleased to see what successful endeavours are daily made to restore it in every branch to its ancient form, from the languishing condition it hath long lain in, and with such deadly symptoms.

I have already handled some abuses during the late management, and shall in convenient time go on with the rest. Hitherto I have confined myself to those of the state; but, with the good leave of some who think it a matter of small moment, I shall now take liberty to say something of the church.

For several years past there hath not, I think, in Europe been any society of men upon so unhappy



py a foot as the *clergy* of England ; nor more hardly treated by those very persons, from whom they deserved much better quarter, and in whose power they chiefly had put it to use them so ill. I would not willingly misrepresent facts, but I think it generally allowed by enemies and friends, that the bold and brave defences made before the *revolution* against those many invasions of our rights proceeded principally from the clergy ; who are likewise known to have rejected all advances made them to close with the measures at that time concerting ; while the *dissenters*, to gratify their ambition and revenge, fell into the basest compliances with the court, approved of all proceedings by their numerous and fulsome addresses, and took employments and commissions by virtue of the dispensing power, against the direct laws of the land. All this is so true, that if ever the pretender comes in, they will, next to those of his own religion, have the fairest claim and pretensions to his favour from their merit and eminent services to his supposed father, who, without such encouragement, would probably never have been misled to go the lengths he did. It should likewise be remembered to the everlasting honour of the London divines, that in those dangerous times they writ and published the best collection of arguments against *Popery*, that ever appeared in the world. At the revolution the body of the *clergy* joined heartily in the common cause, (except a few, whose sufferings perhaps have atoned for their mistakes), like men who are content to go about for avoiding a gulf or a precipice, but come into the old strait road again, as soon as they can. But another temper had now begun to prevail : for, as in the reign of K. Charles I. several well-meaning people were ready to join in reforming some abuses, while others, who had deeper designs, were still calling out for a *thorough reformation*, which ended at last in the ruin of the

kingdom ; so, after the late King's coming to the throne, there was a restless cry from men of *the same principles* for a *thorough revolution* ; which, as some were carrying it on, must have ended in the destruction of the monarchy and church.

What a violent humour hath run ever since against the clergy, and from what corner spread and fomented, is, I believe, manifest to all men. It looked like a set quarrel against *Christianity* ; and, if we call to mind several of the *leaders*, it must, in a great measure, have been actually so. Nothing was more common in writing and conversation, than to hear that reverend body charged in gross with what was utterly inconsistent ; despised for their poverty, hated for their riches ; reproached with avarice, and taxed with luxury ; accused for promoting arbitrary power, and for resisting the prerogative ; censured for their pride, and scorned for their meanness of spirit. The representatives of the lower clergy were railed at for disputing the power of the bishops by the known abhorrrers of Episcopacy ; and abused for doing nothing in the convocations by those very men who helped to bind up their hands. The vice, the folly, the ignorance of every single man were laid upon the character : their jurisdiction, censures, and discipline, trampled under foot ; yet mighty complaints against their excessive power : the men of wit employed to turn the priesthood itself into ridicule : in short, groaning every where under the weight of poverty, oppression, contempt, and obloquy. A fair return for the time and money spent in their education to fit them for the service of the altar ; and a fair encouragement for worthy men to come into the church ! However, it may be some comfort for persons of that holy function, that their divine founder, as well as his *harbinger*, met with the like reception : *John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say he hath a devil ; the Son of man came eating*



*cating and drinking, and they say, Behold a glutton and a wine-bibber, &c.*

In this deplorable state of the clergy, nothing but the hand of Providence, working by its glorious instrument the Queen, could have been able to turn the people's hearts so surprisngly in their favour, This princess, destined for the safety of Europe, and a blessing to her subjects, began her reign with a noble benefaction to the church; and it was hoped the nation would have followed such an example; which nothing could have prevented, but the false politics of a set of men, who form their maxims upon those of every tottering commonwealth, which is always struggling for life, subsisting by expedients, and often at the mercy of any powerful neighbour. These men take it into their imagination, that trade can never flourish, unless the country becomes a common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages; a system only proper for small popular states, but altogether unworthy and below the dignity of an imperial crown; which with us is best upheld by a monarchy in possession of its just prerogative, a senate of nobles and of commons, and a clergy established in its due rights with a suitable maintenance by law. But these men come with the spirit of *shopkeepers* to frame rules for the administration of kingdoms; or, as if they thought the whole art of government consisted in the importation of *nutmegs*, and the curing of *herrings*. Such an island as ours can afford enough to support the majesty of a crown, the honour of a nobility, and the dignity of a magistracy: we can encourage arts and sciences, maintain our bishops and clergy, and suffer our gentry to live in a decent, hospitable manner; yet still there will remain hands sufficient for trade and manufactures, which do always indeed deserve the best encouragement, but not to a degree of

sending every living soul into the *warehouse* or the *workshop*.

This pedantry of republican politics has done infinite mischief among us. To this we owe those noble schemes of treating Christianity as a system of *speculative opinions* which no man should be bound to believe; of making the *being*, and the worship of God, a *creature* of the state; in consequence of these, that the teachers of religion ought to hold their maintenance at pleasure, or live by the alms and charitable collection of the people, and be equally encouraged of all opinions; that they should be *prescribed* what to teach by those who are to learn from them; and upon default have a *staff* and a *pair of shoes* left at their door: with many other projects of equal piety, wisdom, and good nature.

But, God be thanked, they and their schemes are vanished, and their *places shall know them no more*. When I think of that inundation of atheism, infidelity, profaneness, and licentiousness, which was like to overwhelm us, from what mouths and hearts it first proceeded, and how the people joined with the Queen's endeavours to divert this flood, I cannot but reflect on that remarkable passage in the Revelation, "where the serpent with  
" seven heads cast out of his mouth water after  
" the woman like a flood, that he might cause her  
" to be carried away of the flood: but the Earth  
" helped the Woman, and the earth opened her  
" mouth, and swallowed up the flood, which the  
" dragon had cast out of his mouth." For the Queen having changed her ministry suitable to her own wisdom, and the wishes of her subjects, and having called a free parliament, and at the same time summoned the convocation by her royal writ, *as in all times had been accustomed*; and soon after their meeting sent a most gracious letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury to be communicated to  
the



the bishops and clergy of his province ; taking notice of “ the loose and profane principles, which  
“ had been openly scattered and propagated among  
“ her subjects : that the consultations of the clergy  
“ were particularly requisite to repress and prevent  
“ such daring attempts, for which her subjects,  
“ from all parts of the kingdom, have shewn their  
“ just abhorrence : *she* hopes the endeavours of  
“ the clergy in this respect will not be unsuccessful ; and for her part, is ready to give them all  
“ fit encouragement to proceed in the dispatch of  
“ such business as properly belongs to them ; and  
“ to grant them powers requisite to carry on so  
“ good a work ;” in conclusion, “ earnestly recommending to them to avoid disputes ; and determining to do all that in her lies to compose  
“ and extinguish them.”

It is to be hoped, that this last part of her Majesty's letter will be the first she will please to execute ; for, it seems, this very letter created the first dispute ; the fact whereof is thus related. The upper house having formed an address to the Queen, before they received her Majesty's letter, sent both address and letter together to the lower house, with a message excusing their not mentioning the letter in the address, because *this* was formed before the *other* was received. The lower house returned them with a desire, that an address might be formed with due regard and acknowledgements for the letter. After some difficulties, the same address was sent down again with a clause inserted, making some short mention of the said letter. This the lower house did not think sufficient, and sent it back again with the same request : whereupon the Archbishop, after a short consultation with *some* of his brethren, immediately adjourned the convocation for a month ; and no address at all was sent to the Queen.

I understand not ecclesiastical affairs well enough

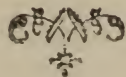
to comment upon this matter; but it seems to me, that all methods of doing service to the church and kingdom, by means of a *convocation*, may be at any time eluded, if there be no remedy against such an incident. And, if this proceeding be agreeable to the institution, *spiritual assemblies* must needs be strangely contrived, very different from any *lay senate* yet known in the world. Surely, from the nature of such a *synod*, it must be a very unhappy circumstance, when the majority of the bishops draws one way, and that of the lower clergy another. The latter, I think, are not at this time suspected for any principles bordering upon those professed by enemies to Episcopacy; and if they happen to differ from the greater part of the *present set* of bishops, I doubt it will call *some things* to mind, that may turn the scale of general favour on the inferior clergy's side; who, with a profound duty to her Majesty, are perfectly pleased with the *present turn of affairs*. Besides, *curious people* will be apt to inquire into the *dates of some promotions*, to call to mind what designs were then upon the anvil; and from thence make *malicious deductions*. Perhaps they will observe the manner of voting on the bishops bench, and compare it with what shall pass in the upper house of convocation. There is however one comfort; that under the present dispositions of the kingdom a dislike to the proceedings of any of their Lordships, even to the number of a *majority*, will be purely *personal*, and not turned to the disadvantage of the *order*. And for my part, as I am a true lover of the church, I had rather find the inclinations of the people favourable to *Episcopacy* in general, than see a majority of prelates cried up by those who are *known enemies* to the character. Nor indeed hath any thing given me more offence for several years past, than to observe, how *some* of that bench have been carested by *certain persons*; and *others* of them openly celebrated by



by the infamous pens of atheists, republicans, and fanatics.

*Time and mortality* can only remedy these inconveniencies in the church, which are not to be cured, like those in the state, by a *change of ministry*. If we may guess the temper of a *convocation* from the choice of a *prolocutor*, as it is usual to do that of a house of commons by the *speaker*, we may expect great things from that reverend body, who have done themselves much reputation by pitching upon a *gentleman* of so much piety, wit, and learning, for that office; and one who is so thoroughly versed in those parts of knowledge which are proper for it. I am sorry, that the three Latin speeches delivered upon presenting the *prolocutor* were not made public; they might perhaps have given us some light into the disposition of each house: and besides, one of them is said to be so peculiar in the style and matter, as might have made up in *entertainment* what it wanted in *instruction*.

*The END of the SECOND VOLUME.*

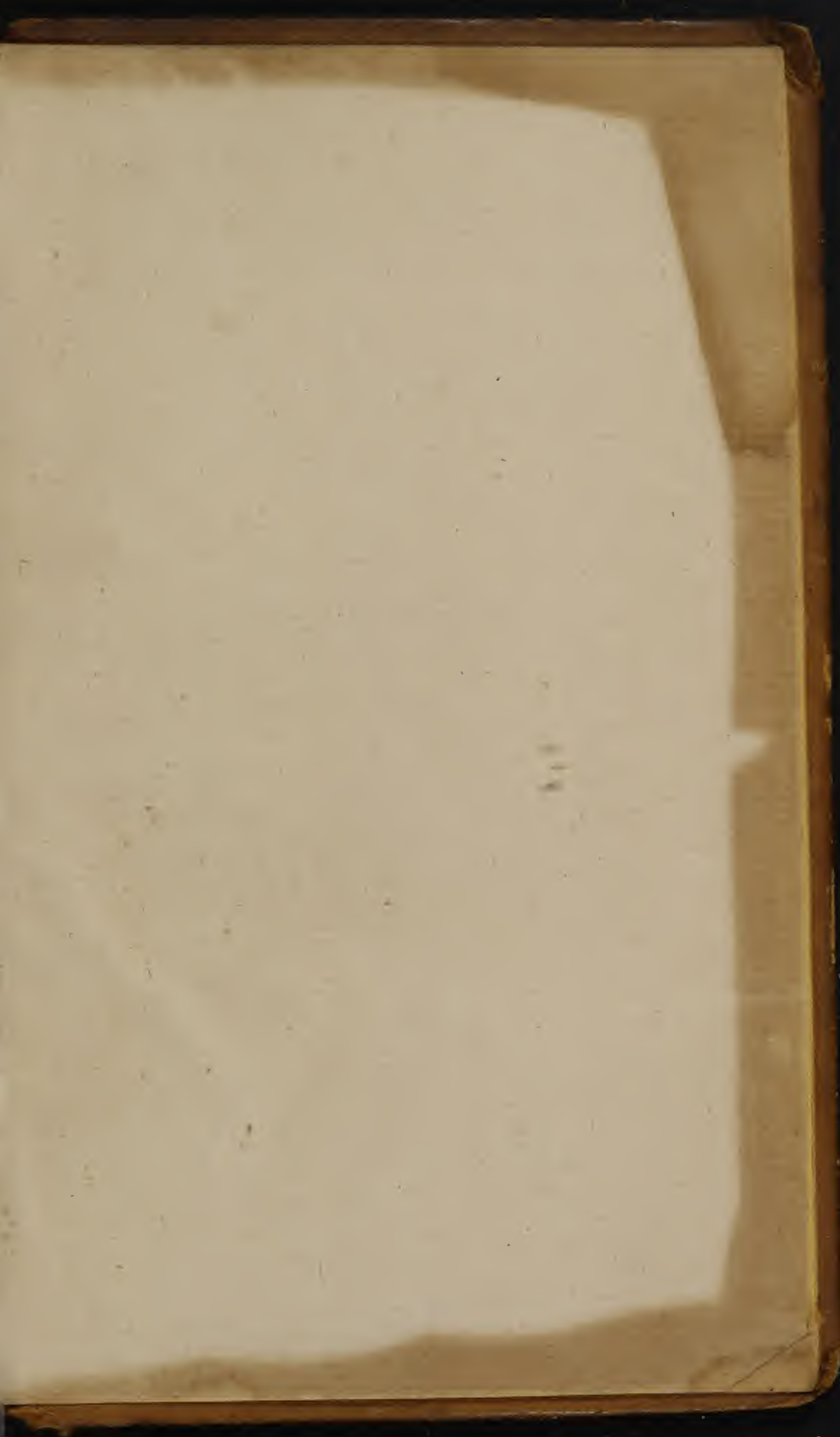


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